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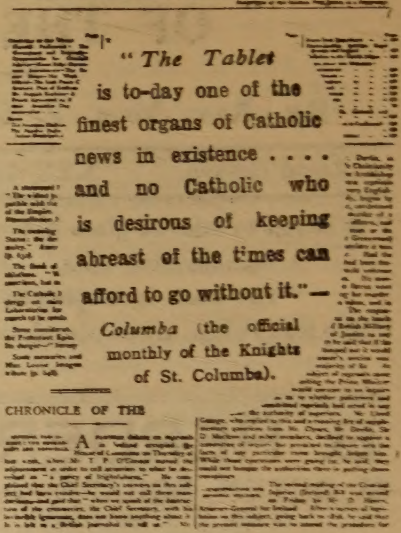
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BISHOP DOYLE AND CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

BY DENIS GWYNN

IN a generation to whom even the once magical signature of " J. K. L." has almost lost all meaning, how many are there who realise the enormous influence of Bishop Doyle in helping O'Connell to revive the Catholic agitation for his final effort, which organised the entire Catholic democracy and forced Wellington to surrender within a few years ? Yet Gladstone, in his famous treatise on the " Vatican Decrees," referred to him long after his death as " the prelate who more than any other represented his Church and influenced the mind of this country in favour of concession at the time of Emancipation." Sydney Smith, one of the shrewdest observers of his generation, asserted, in reply to the Protestant leader Lord Bathurst, that " Dr. Doyle is the Pope of Ireland—and the ablest ecclesiastic of that country will always be its Pope." " We doubt," he declared in the *Edinburgh Review*, " if there is in the treasury of the Pope change for a guinea ; we are sure there is not in his armoury one gun that would go off. We believe, if he attempted to bless anybody whom Dr. Doyle cursed, or to curse anybody whom Dr. Doyle blessed, that his blessings and his cursings would be as impotent as his artillery." The young Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin would in fact have been the first to repudiate any sort of challenge to the authority of the Holy See in Ireland or anywhere else. But Sydney Smith's rhetorical description is a fair indication of the enormous prestige and influence which he enjoyed in the last years of his brief life.

To appreciate the extent of his services to Catholic Emancipation it is necessary to recall the conditions which

prevailed in Ireland at the time of his sudden emergence as the leader of a new generation of Catholics who had grown up in the years since the Act of Union. O'Connell, in succeeding to the leadership of the Catholic Committee after he had prevailed against the more conservative policy of the veteran John Keogh, had aroused the country to an unprecedented pitch of agitation after his famous defence of John Magee in 1813. The duel with D'Esterre soon afterwards enhanced his popularity enormously, and for several years he inspired the country with a new hope and courage. But the collapse of Grattan's Catholic Relief Bill in 1813 led to a protracted wrangle between the English Catholic Committee and their bishops over the question of the Veto on the appointment of the bishops; while the Irish Catholics under O'Connell's leadership proclaimed their refusal to accept any Emancipation Bill which would involve the Veto. The repudiation by Pope Pius VII. of Mgr. Quarantotti's approval of Grattan's Bill, after he returned to Rome from captivity, gave new heart to the Irish Catholics; but in the long interval which followed, it became clear that Rome was willing to accept compromises that the Irish Catholics had denounced irrevocably; and the enthusiasm which O'Connell had kindled died down as time passed. From 1818 onwards all his heroic efforts to keep the agitation alive were so unsuccessful that he had to abandon them.

By 1823, the year when the great Catholic Association was reorganised with Bishop Doyle's support, the Catholic agitation was entirely dead. "An entire cessation of Catholic meetings had taken place," Lalor Sheil, wrote afterwards in retrospect. "There was a total stagnation of public feeling, and I do not exaggerate when I say that the Catholic question was nearly forgotten. The country was then in a state of comparative repose, but it was a degrading and unwholesome tranquillity. We sat down like galley-slaves in a calm. A general stag-

nation diffused itself over the national feelings. The public pulse had stopped, the circulation of all generous sentiment had been arrested, and the country was palsied to the heart." But in 1823 two events of enormous and unforseen importance occurred almost simultaneously. One was the reconciliation of O'Connell and Lalor Sheil which was effected at a dinner party at Mr. O'Hara's house in County Wicklow, and the agreement reached among the company present to undertake a revival of the Catholic agitation. The other was the emergence of Dr. Doyle as a new champion of the Catholic democracy, challenging the most formidable opponents of the Catholics on level terms, with a genius for public controversy and a gift of inspiring others by his own fearless courage and great intellectual powers, with the voice of a new generation who had arisen since the abolition of the penal laws.

Dr. Doyle was born, a few days after his father's death, in 1786. The outworks of the old penal code had already been destroyed by the Relief Act of 1778 and by the minor reliefs which were subsequently granted in the year of Legislative Independence, four years before his birth. He was only seven years old when John Keogh and Wolfe Tone secured the passing of the great Relief Act of 1793, which admitted Catholics to the professions and the franchise. All legal restrictions on the practice of the Catholic religion, or on the education of Catholic children, whether in Ireland or abroad, had been abolished before he was born. And during the years of his childhood, the removal of legal persecution of the Catholics, coinciding with the reckless extravagance of the landlord ascendancy, had produced a very rapid advance in prosperity among the Catholics in the towns. But after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam in 1795, a new era of violence and oppression against the Catholics had set in, which culminated in the rising of 1798. James Doyle was a boy of twelve in Wexford when the rebellion

broke out, and he could remember ever afterwards how he and a school friend had hidden behind a furze bush while the fighting raged for ten hours in full view of them in New Ross. Two years later, when the Irish bishops had done all in their power to assist Pitt in carrying the Act of Union on the understanding that Catholic Emancipation was to follow it, the boy entered the Augustinian seminary which had recently been started near his home. And in 1805 he entered the Augustinian novitiate.

Maynooth had already been established ten years, and was receiving regularly substantial grants from the British Government; but the tradition of Irish ecclesiastical students receiving their theological training on the Continent remained for many years afterwards. So, with three fellow students, he left Ireland for Portugal to complete his education at the university of Coimbra; and it was there that he gained not only the solid education which made him develop into the ablest scholar and controversialist of his generation in Ireland, but also a singular experience which was to have a direct effect upon his public dealings with the Duke of Wellington in the final stages of the Emancipation struggle. Napoleon's armies had invaded Spain and Portugal in the year after Doyle's arrival at Coimbra; and in 1807 Sir Arthur Wellesley left his post as Irish Chief Secretary to assume command of the British armies in the Peninsula. Nothing was more significant of the changed relations between England and Ireland (which were reflected in the Government grants to Maynooth) than the fact that the Irish Catholics on the Continent, including practically all the Irish Brigade in the French service, had repudiated their allegiance to the atheistic government of revolutionary France, and were willing to join the English forces in resisting Napoleon. When the future Duke of Wellington arrived in Spain he was given every assistance by Dr Curtis, the Rector of the Irish College in Salamanca,

and the close friendship which they formed then led to the appointment of Dr. Curtis some years afterwards, through Wellington's influence, as the Catholic Primate of Ireland. In Portugal also the Irish ecclesiastics hastened to join Wellington's forces in resisting the French invasion. The ecclesiastical students of the University at Coimbra volunteered at once, and Doyle became one of their leaders. He accompanied the Generals as a sort of intelligence officer, gained very valuable information which was of real service to Wellington's staff, and was present as an armed combatant in three battles. Years afterwards, when the last stage of the Catholic agitation made surrender inevitable, Dr. Doyle was able to appeal to him with the special claim upon his attention of having served under him in the most difficult of his campaigns.

In 1808 he returned to Ireland and was ordained at Enniscorthy in the following year. He intended, with a vow of poverty, to devote his life to the humblest forms of parochial work. But his obvious attainments soon led to his being appointed to a professorship at Carlow, and his reputation grew with such rapidity that by 1819, at the age of thirty-three, he was unanimously selected for the succession to the bishopric of Kildare and Leighlin on the death of Dr. Corcoran. He was by far the youngest member of the Irish hierarchy. The bishops were inclined at first to expect that he would listen meekly among his elders; but his vigorous character made itself felt from the start, both among the bishops and above all in his own diocese, where he set to work in introducing a much more severe discipline among the clergy, while he undertook a vehement campaign against the agrarian secret societies. And he had been a bishop only a few years when the whole country suddenly became aware of his fighting qualities, when he entered into a public controversy with the Protestant Archbishop Magee.

A great change had been slowly working upon public opinion in England in favour of concession to the Catholic claims, largely as a result of the propaganda so courageously conducted by Sydney Smith and by a number of English Radicals. By 1821 Plunkett's Catholic Relief Bill, embodying the obnoxious Veto proposals, was actually passed through the House of Commons, though it was defeated by a rally of the Protestant forces in the House of Lords. In Ireland a policy of conciliation was undertaken, and among those who were expected to assist the Government in the new liberal regime was Dr. Magee, who had been appointed to the Protestant Archbishopric of Dublin. But Magee quickly turned his attention from conciliation in politics to an aggressively anti-Catholic propaganda in Ireland, which before long became known as the "Second Reformation." Magee and his friends set themselves with great zeal and energy to convert the Irish Papists—who had in the past been at least left unmolested by proselytism, though they were deprived of all civil rights and liberties—from the superstitions and errors of the Church of Rome. The notorious system of soup kitchens and other agencies by which the Reformationists sought to bribe destitute Catholics to give up their religion developed quickly, and Magee particularly seized every opportunity to write and speak insults to the faith of the Irish Catholics. In a celebrated discourse in St. Patrick's Cathedral he denounced the Irish Catholics as being "blindly enslaved to a supposed infallible ecclesiastical authority," and he praised the Established Church of Ireland for having "thrown off the slough of a slavish superstition and burst forth into the purified form of Christian renovation."

These and other insults were becoming more and more frequent in the Irish newspapers, while outrages began to be committed in Catholic chapels under the inspiration of Dr. Magee's new propaganda. No Catholic spokesman had yet dared to raise his voice in a deliberate challenge,

until quite unexpectedly there appeared—over the signature "J. K. L." (James, Kildare and Leighlin), which was in the following years to become a signal of unfailing encouragement to the despised and down-trodden Catholics—an open letter to Archbishop Magee, which met his accusations and insults with a bold counter-attack such as Irish Catholics had never yet attempted to deliver. He challenged Magee openly on the question of tithes. "There are many in England," he wrote—after quoting Blackstone's teaching "that the Legislature, in enacting laws of tribute, neither binds nor intends to bind the conscience of the subject"—"who would not hesitate to evade and infringe the laws of tribute, could they do so with impunity; but with how much better a plea can the ragged peasant evade or infringe that law which takes from him the produce of his field, the fruits of his industry, and gives him nothing in return. Do not accuse, my Lord, of injustice men who think on this subject differently from your Grace, as you will never succeed in convincing your countrymen that they are conscientiously bound to pay for what they don't receive—as there is not a peasant in Ireland who does not know, as well as Ulpian, that commutative justice requires an 'equivalent to be given for what is received.'" "As an Archbishop of the Established Church," this startling document proceeded, "I would beg leave to ask you, my Lord, who are you and where did you come from? From what heaven have you fallen? What earth produced you? Turn over the records of your Church; tell us the names of the bishops who preceded you; show us how they were connected with the Apostles, or with those who received the faith from them. Produce your claim to that title of 'apostolic,' which you so ostentatiously put forth, but to which your Grace has as good a claim as to the Dukedom of Leeds." The letter ran to great length, and it attracted such immediate attention that Dr. Magee quickly issued a

reply, which in turn provoked a second letter from J. K. L. A public controversy developed in which many notabilities joined, and the reputation of Dr. Doyle as a protagonist of the Catholic democracy was already established.

But it was not until the spring of 1823 that Dr. Doyle, immersed in an enormous burden of episcopal responsibilities, as the most active and zealous member of the Irish hierarchy, came forward with a more political manifesto in the shape of his "Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics," which was addressed as an open letter to the Viceroy himself. It was the first time that any bishop had attempted to address himself in such a public fashion to the ruler of Dublin Castle, and the position of the Irish Catholics was still so depressed that only a bishop could have done so with any expectation that it would be seriously read. It appeared at the time when O'Connell had just persuaded a handful of influential Irish Catholics to revive the old Catholic organisation, and its appearance brought a new stimulus to his efforts, which had otherwise been very disappointing in their results. At one of the first meetings of the new Catholic Association—while it was still no more than a group of timid aristocrats and members of the gentry—O'Connell was able to move a vote of congratulation to Dr. Doyle on publishing the letter, in a speech which emphasised particularly the fact "for seventeen years the Catholics dared not raise their voice on the subject of tithes." It was indeed a pamphlet of extraordinary eloquence and power, treating a vast range of subjects with a knowledge of history, philosophy and law, such as had not found expression in print since the days of Edmund Burke. It recalled the whole history of the penal laws; searched through the foundations of the Established Church and of the ascendancy, which derived its wealth from confiscations and its power from unjust laws; challenged the accusers of the Catholic clergy on every point which had been raised; and then

proceeded boldly to a constructive argument for Catholic emancipation :—

> To me, my lord, who am tolerably well acquainted with the obedience I owe the Pope and the allegiance I owe my sovereign, there is nothing more fulsome, more tasteless and absurd, than the grave discussions I am sometimes induced to read, or forced to hear, about the divided allegiance of Catholics, and all the plausible nonsense which follows it, and of the essential Protestantism of the constitution. The essence of the constitution is, my lord, to make all who live under it free and happy, and the hoary bigot or the selfish monopolist who would exclude us from it on account of our religion neither understands that religion nor the law of nature, which has been written, not with ink but with the finger of the living God, on the fleshly tablets of our hearts . . . . When I am told that I am unfit for freedom on account of the religion which I profess—when I have considered all that has been said in support of so heinous a proposition, I feel amazed and confounded, and ask, is it possible that any man could suppose that, were I in possession of the rights and privileges of a British subject, all the power on earth could induce me to forego them. . . . No, I conclude it is impossible that any rational man could suppose that the Catholics, under equal laws, would be less loyal, less faithful subjects than any others.

The sensation caused by his pamphlet was at its height when Bishop Doyle announced himself a member of O'Connell's new Catholic Association. He was the first bishop to join it, and his accession was the greatest achievement O'Connell could yet claim. The other members of the hierarchy were by no means equally pleased ; and Dr. Curtis, the Primate, in particular was thoroughly scandalised by the demagogic tendencies of the young bishop, even though he was so well known to be a man of most ascetic life with a genuine distaste for politics. Dr. Curtis even wrote privately to his friend the Duke of Wellington to apologise for Dr. Doyle's conduct. "What gives us (the bishops) most pain," he wrote in his old age, "is that the letter in question must be offensive to Government, if it condescends to mind it at all, though unworthy of its consideration. It is possible your Grace may here exclaim : Why do you

not yourselves disavow, silence, suspend, and put down such a man at once? You may depend, my Lord Duke, it will end in that, and very soon, if the aggressor himself does not come forward and make speedy, full and sincere atonement for his error." There had been friction before between the young Bishop and the very old Primate, and they had had one famous exchange of biblical quotations at a meeting of the hierarchy. Dr. Doyle, acting on the request of Archbishop Murray, had risen first to speak on a certain subject at an important meeting. Dr. Curtis intervened at once and rebuked him publicly, saying that he "deemed it very improper and irreverent for the youngest bishop to rise first and to speak in the presence of his seniors." He solemnly commended to Dr. Doyle the words of Ecclesiasticus: "Young man, hear in silence, and for thy reverence good grace shall come to thee. In the company of great men take not upon thee; and when the ancients are present, speak not much." Dr. Doyle immediately sat down and did not speak again till the discussion had reached its end. He then stated his views with such ability that they were adopted by the meeting; and before sitting down he replied to the charge of being disrespectful to his elders. "Venerable old age," he quoted, in an admirably ready repartee, "is not that of long time, nor counted by the number of years; but the understanding of a man is grey hairs." And he concluded with the apt quotation from Solomon: "Better is the wisdom of the child than the dotage and the reverie of the old man."

A prelate of such character was not to be deflected from his purpose, and his reputation grew among statesmen in England, as well as among the clergy and the whole Catholic movement in which he had become a hero. His influence was proved conclusively when he was summoned, with Daniel O'Connell, to give evidence before a Committee of Inquiry in the House of Lords in March, 1825. His friend Sir Henry Parnell met him in

London and warned him that he must be prepared for a very severe theological cross-examination, as his opponents had been concocting their questions in close consultation with the leading Protestant theologians. With the help of a few private libraries, he had only a few days to prepare his case, and the cross-examination lasted for several days. It ranged over an immense variety of subjects, from the condition of the poor in Ireland to the most intricate questions of ecclesiastical rights or of pure theology. His knowledge of history astounded the Committee, and he gave a vast amount of information concerning the appointment of bishops in different countries at different periods. While he was being cross-examined, members of the Committee kept on leaving the room to verify references with which they sought to trap him. Wellington was met by one of the peers, when he left the room on such an errand, and was asked : " Well, Duke, are you examining Dr. Doyle ? " " No, but Doyle is examining us," was Wellington's subdued reply. And in the following year they were in private correspondence.

Seldom indeed has any evidence before a Parliamentary Commission produced such immediate and definite results. The abortive Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1825, which O'Connell himself had drafted, was before Parliament within a few weeks after the Commission's sittings, and Dr. Doyle was mentioned by name in many speeches during the debates. One speaker after another publicly confessed that he had been converted by his evidence. Charles Brownlow, who afterwards became Lord Lurgan, had been a consistent opponent of every Catholic claim. He now announced to the House of Commons that his old hostility was completely ended. " What remains to a man whose arguments are gone," he said, " but to reconsider his conclusions ; what atonement more reasonable or more due than, finding he has adopted an erroneous opinion, to say so, and abjure

it ?" And in quoting many extracts from the evidence of Bishop Doyle he expressed the hope that "many who, like myself, have looked at this subject apart from inquiry, may, on coming to contend with the facts, be overcome by them." Colonel Forde, Mr. Leycester, Mr. Maxwell, Colonel Pakenham, Lord Valletort, Mr. E. B. Portman, all rose during the debate to proclaim their conversion, and Dr. Doyle's evidence was quoted by a dozen other speakers. The Bill passed safely through the Commons ; and in the House of Lords the evidence of Dr. Doyle was frequently quoted with no less emphasis. But an urgent appeal by the King's brother and heir presumptive rallied the Diehard Protestants for a last stand, and the Catholic Association had to face another period of apparently hopeless obstruction.

The general election of 1826 was nearly through before the daring experiment undertaken by O'Connell, in mobilising the Catholic Association against Lord George Beresford in Waterford—which his family had represented in unbroken succession for so many years—astounded the country by its overwhelming success. It was too late to put other candidates in the field who were prepared to identify themselves with the Catholic Association, but in a few other constituencies the opponents of Catholic Emancipation were, even in the last days of polling, ignominiously ejected from their seats. A singularly unstable Parliament ensued, which had scarcely met when Lord Liverpool was seized with a stroke, and had to retire from his long Premiership. Canning succeeded him, but died within a few months ; and Lord Goderich made a feeble and futile attempt to carry on. Eventually, Wellington was called in as a last resort, and O'Connell's worst fears had been fulfilled. The vacillating attitude of the Parliament, and the relief which it gave to the Dissenters by abolishing the Test Acts, had induced O'Connell to cancel his orders for opposing every Government supporter in bye-elections. But Wellington's

administration removed all grounds for further hesitation; and when Huskisson resigned, and the Cabinet had to be partially reconstructed, the opportunity for another spectacular contest arose at last in the bye-election necessitated by Vesey Fitzgerald's nomination as President of the Board of Trade. O'Connell, after considerable hesitation, was persuaded to stand for Clare; and the Government saw that now at last the great trial of strength against the enormous organisation of the Catholic Association was to take place.

Only a few weeks before the bye-election was announced for Clare, Bishop Doyle had once again entered the lists of public controversy. The Catholic Association had so inflamed feeling in the country that O'Connell himself could no longer feel confident in his own ability to prevent it from becoming the tool of violent forces. Concession to the Catholic demands was the only means by which, in the prevailing state of the country, the danger of an armed outbreak could be altogether removed. But Wellington and Peel were known to be adamantine in their refusal to surrender. On June 19, 1828, Bishop Doyle issued a public letter to the Duke of Wellington as Prime Minister, appealing to him to "let wisdom supersede violence and amicable discussion take the place of force." "To you, my lord," he exclaimed, "it belongs to proclaim a cessation, not in any ambiguous language which only serves to excite to new exertion, but in terms plain, distinct and intelligible. You cannot say to the sea of our troubles 'be still,' nor to the tempest which rages in Ireland 'do not blow.' We are a nation grown up to manhood, and the only force which can subdue us, without ruin to the State, is the force of equity." In a long argument he went over all the ground once more, protesting his own conviction that "danger to the Constitution is as likely to proceed from Mecca as from the Vatican," but also his desire "to allay the apprehensions of those whom your Grace is perhaps

obliged to satisfy." Once again Bishop Doyle's eloquent and dignified pleading had brought new heart to the Catholic Association, which he had himself done so much to create. Once again it rallied the forces in England which were sincerely anxious to see justice done, but had grown apprehensive about the prospects of serious disorders. Wellington himself, since the proceedings of the parliamentary commission three years before, was prepared at last to listen to warnings which confirmed his own grave fears, as the only politician who really appreciated the seriousness of the military situation.

Almost immediately after the publication of his letter to Wellington, Bishop Doyle himself had to decide his own attitude towards the candidature of O'Connell for Clare. The other bishops were alarmed; some of them definitely disapproved. Lord Anglesey, the Viceroy, had written to Peel that "O'Connell finds himself so much opposed by some of the most respectable of the Bishops, and by many of the lower clergy also, that he is quite wild. The following letter from one of the most respectable of the Bishops to a person in my confidence will show that there is a good feeling among the higher clergy." The letter which Anglesey enclosed was written from Maynooth, and it said that "the proposed measure concerning Clare is thought here to be most unwise and, besides, not likely to succeed." But while Lord Anglesey's informants seem to have been strangely misguided in their forecasts, the attitude of the clergy was settled once and for all by the appearance of a letter from Bishop Doyle to O'Connell himself, which was published in the newspapers. "It is when difficulties press on us," wrote J. K. L., "that we should increase our exertions and exhibit in our conduct that decision which is the harbinger of success. I am unable and unwilling to calculate the consequences which must result from your contest with Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, but I am satisfied these consequences will be as useful as they

must be important, if the lovers of civil and religious liberty in Clare do their duty to the sacred cause to which you have devoted anew your time, your talents, your fortune, and your life. Farewell, my dear friend; may the God of truth and justice protect and prosper you." Anglesey read Bishop Doyle's letter with dismay and wrote to Peel to say that he feared the "Clare Election will end ill: Dr. Doyle's letter to Mr. O'Connell is most mischievous. I, however, still hope that most of the other bishops set their faces against his proceedings." To O'Connell Bishop Doyle's support came as an assurance of victory. "If I had spent twenty-eight centuries, instead of twenty-eight years," he exclaimed, "in the service of my country, the sentiments expressed in that letter would more than amply reward me. One spirit animates us all, and we have the prayers of that truly pious prelate for our success. The approbation of Dr. Doyle will bring to our cause the united voice of Ireland."

O'Connell judged rightly. He won an overwhelming victory in Clare, and Peel and Wellington had within a few months realised the necessity for an unconditional surrender. Bishop Doyle had been the first Bishop to join the Catholic Association. His personal intervention had now mobilised the whole clergy in O'Connell's support and placed his election beyond all doubt. And it was he more than any man who, by argument and pleading and by the dignity and austerity of his own life and the exercise of his superb intellectual powers, had prepared public opinion in England for the ratification of Wellington's new policy of conciliation. Yet all his life he had detested political controversy; and he had been intensely reluctant to take part in it. Only on great issues would he have consented to intervene. In the few years of life that still remained before he died from sheer exhaustion and overwork, he was to engage many times in another great controversy, which brought him into direct conflict with O'Connell himself—on the subject of the poor

law. His heart and his life's work were devoted above all to the service of the Catholic poor. He had been still a child when practically the whole penal code was swept away, but the poverty and demoralisation that it produced remained for years; and he even predicted the famine which broke out ten years after his death. He had himself been taught in an ecclesiastical college where the walls were still made of mud. The time was not yet when a priest could expect his house to be roofed with anything better than the poorest thatch. His predecessors as bishops of Kildare and Leighlin had lived in awful hovels within the memory of many of his flock.

But he himself belonged to a new generation, which had found hope, though it lacked courage until he came to inspire and teach it himself. And there was nothing more symbolical of the self-respect which he inculcated into the people, and the pride in their religion which had been for so long despised, than the fact that he should have built a cathedral, in his own poverty-ridden diocese, at Carlow. A few years before, he had been chosen to preach at the consecration of the new Pro-Cathedral in Dublin. He was still only forty-eight years of age when he died in June, 1834. But in his ten years as a bishop he had brought courage and confidence to the Irish Catholics at a time when they were most despondent. He had fought the proselytisers relentlessly, and had held them up to the execration of the country. And in an age of growing material prosperity among those Catholics who had risen above the destitution of the peasant class, he had set a constant example of self-sacrifice and unflagging generosity; while he carried on, in an Ireland which had at last been provided with the institutions for training its own clergy and hierarchy, a great national tradition of scholarship and profound learning, combined with fearless criticism, which has had few more distinguished and brilliant exponents in any generation.

DENIS GWYNN.

CONTARDO FERRINI: SCHOLAR AND SAINT[1]

BY MARY RYAN, M.A.

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EVERY age has the saints it needs. In ours, faced with problems which all but baffle the reason and paralyse the will, we seem to need reminding that our centre of gravity is not in the welter of facts and opinions. We cannot choose our circumstances, character or calling; and so, amidst an almost feverish cult of action, we seem to need reminding that every life, even that of the student, can be effectual; that environment can be resisted; that the world of thought, however speculatively dangerous, can be practically safe.

That is no doubt why three successive Popes have favoured the cause of canonization of Contardo Ferrini. Pius X said: "I should be very glad to set up as a model a saint who was a University professor." And Benedict XV: "I like the saints of the stole and the infula, but I should like also to see this great professor, a pearl of the laity, on the altars. A saint in a frock-coat appeals to me! The world will once more recognize that holiness is a flower to be gathered in all the gardens of the Catholic Church." And our present Pope, when he was still Mgr. Achille Ratti: "I am not aware of special, supernatural gifts conferred by God on Ferrini, except that his faith and his Christian life in his place and in our day always seemed to me almost a miracle."—"I desire his beatification . . . . . for the special good that we may hope from it for the young, particularly young laymen, who pursue the path of study."

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[1]Carlo Pellegrini: *La Vita di Contardo Ferrini.* Torino, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1920.

A. Tamborini: *Contardo Ferrini.* Milano, Ufficio di propaganda per la Canonizzazione di Contardo Ferrini, 1922.

Contardo Ferrini: *Pensieri e Preghiere.* Ibid. 1927.

Contardo Ferrini was the son of a professor of mathematics, a distinguished and holy man, and was born in Milan in 1859. He was a lively little boy, was sent to a private school, and made his First Communion under special instruction at the age of twelve. This event made an extraordinary and indelible impression on him;—in the strong words of his biographer he "really felt God" for the first time; and he then set his feet on the path of unbroken spiritual progress which is, indeed, his life-story.

From his school he passed to a *liceo*, and was conspicuously successful in his studies. To them, before he was seventeen, but already eager to understand the Old Testament, he voluntarily added Hebrew. The kind priest-librarian who helped him with Hebrew also taught him Syriac and Sanskrit. With another priest-friend he took up geology, a study that provided him with his great hobby and only recreation in later life, mountaineering.

From 1876 to 1880 he was a student at the University of Pavia, where he resided in the Collegio Borromeo. It was an almost monastic existence of study, prayer, and (as we shall see) comparative isolation. He worked hard and continuously, specialising in the history of Roman Law. He took his doctorate brilliantly, and then with a state scholarship, spent two years in Berlin, where there was a flourishing school of Roman Jurisprudence and kindred studies. He began there to acquire the reputation which later on made the learned authorities of Europe look on him as one of Italy's greatest men. There too his Catholic spirit rejoiced and expanded in the warm and invigorating atmosphere of German Catholicism, in the fresh fervour of its first victories after the protracted *Kulturkampf*.

A special lectureship in the Origins of Roman Law was created for him in 1883 at Pavia, where he had just begun to teach as a *privat-dozent*. He was regularly

appointed professor at Messina in 1887, transferred to Modena in 1890, honoured by the state with the title of *cavaliere* in 1892, and at length appointed ordinary professor at Pavia in 1894. While teaching there he made his headquarters with his father and mother at Milan, and spent his holidays at Suna, where he died in 1902

His highly specialised and recently revived subject required continual research and journeys to all the libraries of Europe. For this he was qualified by special and general culture, and by his command of five ancient and five modern languages. He was not ambitious of distinction, and was rather conservative than venturesome; but he was intuitive, independent, and critical. Above all he really loved his work, however recondite, and was convinced that research is an obligation of the man of science. Engaged in deciphering a palimpsest, he once wrote: "It is a great thing to wrest these syllables, which seemed to be lost for ever, laboriously one by one from the darkness that envelops them; and I positively feel as if I were making that *glorious war on time* aptly spoken of in the preface to *I Promessi Sposi*. Meantime I am destroying my eyes, and soon, when chemical reagents have to be used, my sense of smell will go too." Whenever the spirit, or rather the flesh, flagged, there was the desire to restore Italian scholarship to its ancient glory, and a strictly conscientious sense of duty. Thus, in spite of his early death, he has over 200 learned publications to his credit. Some are occasional writings; others are the result of prolonged effort and of recasting with the growth of experience and knowledge. They contain enough profound and original work to secure him an abiding place in the estimation of the learned.

His reputation was well and widely established in his lifetime. What is more remarkable, perhaps, is the testimony borne to his character by men of learning—a jealous and irascible race—and indeed by the majority of those with whom he lived and worked; whether Italians

or foreigners, Catholics, Protestants, or unbelievers; colleagues or students.

At Messina, where suitable lodgings were scarce, he shared a house with other unmarried professors. This is how he appeared to one of them in the intimate contact of daily life: "My recollection of Ferrini is that of a man absolutely superior, not only by his professional qualities of intellect and culture, but by the exquisite goodness of his disposition, and above all by a loftiness of character which raises him in my memory to the highest and purest summits of human personality."—"He comes back to me," writes the Rector of the University, "full of life, handsome and vigorous looking, always with the smile of his unsullied spirit on his lips, his eyes eager for truth; his high and thoughtful brow, his calm face, reflected the beauty of his spirit and the serenity of his conscience. There was never a frown to reveal dark thoughts, his blue eyes were never clouded and unsmiling, never did sarcasm or sneer cross his lips; and if, as happened, his keen mind found expression in some epigrammatic saying, it was always within the bounds of courtesy and morality." A later colleague sums him up: "I never knew anyone better than he."

Yet Ferrini was not expansive; on the contrary he was rather timid, aloof, apparently cold. But a certain distinction and dignity were coupled with extreme simplicity, and "under this outer shell he hid an exquisite disposition." From boyhood upwards he was instinctively kind, happy in doing service; he was gentle in judgment, modest about his work, entirely free from jealousy or carping criticism of those from whom he differed.

As a professor he was always ready to give individual help to his pupils. In class he was clear and animated. "Never," writes a student, "did I admire a man whose intelligence had so completely assimilated the information acquired by study. Nothing was unreal in him; one forgot that memory had indeed been the mechanism of

that enriching of the mind. It really seemed that whatever he said he had always known, that he had lived in all the ages he was describing." He had, for others as for himself, an exacting standard of work; and was reputed to be a stern examiner. He avoided rather than sought direct religious propaganda, but he never missed a chance of showing the harmony between religious and other truth; so that he emboldened, we are told, those who had the faith and attracted those who had not. "It was well known to his pupils that Ferrini prayed lengthily, that he practised his faith frankly and openly though without ostentation, that he was of extreme purity of life. Moreover, though it is not easy to say how or why, he was one of those men who by their mere speech and bearing diffuse around them a sort of serenity and restful peace. This explains why (in spite of the fact that his nature so shrank from and was almost antagonistic to the 'jovial student' temperament) Professor Ferrini was one of the most esteemed, admired, and beloved teachers of the University of Pavia."

We may complete by a few remarks these external sketches of Ferrini's personality. He seemed to be "armoured with patience against everything that could happen to him." It is on record that he once nearly lost his temper when an extra lecture was interrupted by some youths who disapproved of extra zeal for work. But when all his savings, about £1,200, were swallowed up in the failure of an industrial enterprise started by one of his Catholic friends, he simply wrote *perdute* in his account-book; and was instrumental in saving his unhappy friend from the worst consequences of his incapacity. As member of a state committee for University appointments he was conscientious and courageous to a degree. In his family he was gentle and affectionate, remaining as childlike towards his parents as if he were not a busy and distinguished man. With his friends he had a winning charm, and could relax into

gaiety and playfulness, especially with children and in the country.

During his lifetime hardly anyone realised that his strong and gentle character, his reserve and his charm, his firm courage and almost timid retiringness, were all alike the outcome of his holiness. Two or three student friends at Pavia, one or two colleagues in later life, some priests, had received partial confidences; but it was after his death that they began to share and compare them. Then letters, short treatises, prayers and meditations were found, collected, and eventually published. Of these *Scritti religiosi** Ferrini's biographer says truly that they are "a splendid apologia for Christianity, different from others and more efficacious for modern minds, because they are not a proof but a life."

Their immediate purpose must be borne in mind in estimating their value. "Thus I end," says Ferrini himself in one passage, "these few and short reflections of mine, written in the sweet solitude of my room, in the *horae subsecivae* of my studies, to comfort my spirit." No question involving Catholic faith or principle left him indifferent. Hence the letters and short treatises, all intended to meet some immediate need. To a friend studying medicine or reading naturalistic literature he shows that science and faith, art and faith, cannot really conflict. Or he points out that examinations can only be passed and sufferings borne with God's help and for His glory. The more argumentative pages recall a period of crude negation happily passed away. Ferrini denounces the assertions of atheists and positivists; pours out his indignation at their shallowness and folly, his pity for their victims; passionately asserts his sense of God and zeal for souls. In a language other than Italian some passages would be declamatory. But his apologetic is

*Out of print, but abundantly quoted by Pellegrini. They include letters written to Paolo and Vittorio Mapelli, prayers and meditations, and short treatises of which one is unfinished: *Un po' d'infinito, Sul recente positivismo nella vita pratica, Lettere ad un giovane amico, Alcuni pensieri per la pasqua.*

positive rather than controversial, dwelling on the inexhaustible riches and joys of Catholic truth.

In these days of liturgical revival we may note how closely he followed the cycle of the Christian year, impressed as he was with the idea that the laity are not mere onlookers, but actual participants in the prayers and acts of the clergy. "During the solemnities of the year, he loved to speak of the beauty of the liturgical prayers, and recited bits of them from memory." Some of his impressions are preserved in the burning words of his private notes or in intimate letters, of which an expert says: "One feels a sense of amazement at comparing together a page on law, written by Ferrini in his severe, exact style, and the pages overflowing with enthusiasm in which he describes the union of the soul with God, pages not unworthy of the most lofty mystics."

What a sense he has of Christ as the summit of human life and history, and of religion as the one force capable of making the spiritual world accessible to mankind at large! What depth and tenderness in the meditations and prayers, which remind one of Newman's in their "real" apprehension of doctrine, prayer, the sacraments! What yearning to share it all with others!

The analogy and affinity between saint and poet is exemplified in Ferrini, to whom the universe was a poem written by God for His glory to be read by men:—

> Whence comes such a light of God in holy, humble, simple souls, untouched by the world, unencumbered by books? Whence comes the profound sense of Him? How often weary with a long day's walk in the mountains, sitting under the shade of a beech that sheltered me from the setting sun, have I talked with some Alpine shepherd, with some poor woman, a child of the mountains! And each time I have been surprised and confounded: such was their life wisdom, such their sense of Divine Providence, so slight their estimation of worldly things, so deep their peace and the joy of a life inviolate! God speaks to them from the cloud-capped peak, in the din of the mountain torrent, in the

awe of the precipitous crag, in the whiteness of the perpetual snow, in the sun that purples the west, in the wind that tosses the foliage of the old beech : nature lives, animated by His almighty breath, smiles in His joy, darkens in His anger, and amidst all its vicissitudes is ever young, as the smile of God is perennially young. The spirit is young that lives through and for Him, in fervour of charity, in strength of resolution, in undisturbed joy. . . . .

It is rare to find a life characterised by a spiritual ascent so steady and unbroken, keeping step with every change in outward circumstance. It began at First Communion :—

When I wanted to rise to Thee, Thou didst inspire me to seek in the world every flower of virtue, every grace of feeling, every loyal and noble affection, and to expand them to the infinite . . . . I have experienced and been as it were terrified by Thy greatness, attracted to Thy ineffable beauty . . . . I came to Thee and said, " As the hart panteth after the fountains of water, so my soul panteth after Thee, O Lord."

When he was a university student in the *Collegio Borromeo*, the discipline and religious spirit of that Catholic institution left much to be desired. So simple a thing as abstaining on Fridays and in Lent, to say nothing of going to daily Mass and other church services, meant oddity, isolation, and great strength of character. He met sneers, mockery and petty persecution with silent firmness, reserve and prayer. He once asserted himself, and answered when taunted with disgracing the University by walking in a procession : " It is good that the University, in my person if you will have it so, should kneel to God." His quietness, his example, the kindnesses that he never lost a chance of doing, at last wore out or disarmed hostility. Meantime in the new bishop of Pavia, Mgr. Riboldi, he found a friend and a support. To this zealous man the idea naturally occurred of making Ferrini a link with other students and forming a Catholic group in the University. But the plan broke down, as Ferrini,

strikingly unlike Ozanam in this, was no organiser and not really a man of action.

The character, so tempered by difficulties in Pavia, expanded vigorously in Berlin. There an enlightened and energetic clergy, a brotherly welcome from Catholic students, the sturdy determination of the country folk to practise their religion at all costs, and the quiet peace of the Ursuline convent chapel were as a cordial to his spirit. So that when he returned to Italy, his spiritual bent was taken, and one part of his struggle ended. The struggle that never can end, with the world, the flesh and the devil, was fought as all must fight it, only more earnestly and heroically. In the main Ferrini's rule of life, which has been preserved for us, does not differ from the programme implicitly and even explicitly adopted by many more ordinary people. But he followed it to the letter with unflinching perseverance. He added to the small mortifications there set forth some of the heroic penances of the saints, discipline and hairshirt. Most remarkable of all, though feeling no vocation to the priesthood or the religious life, he bound himself to live as a religious in the world by making a vow of chastity. Repeatedly urged by his mother and friends to marry, he would evade their propositions with a jest ; but in reality to be free of worldly entanglements, according to the counsel of St. Paul. He avoided all such amusements and engagements, however legitimate, as might distract him from his wonderful, continual, spontaneous union with God.

Work, however, was not such a distraction. On the contrary it was his appointed way to hallow the name of God, to promote the coming of His kingdom, to do His will. It was daily bread, expiatory toil, a refuge from temptation, a deliverance from evil. His commentary on the Lord's prayer, is strikingly suggestive : he thinks it impossible for a man sincerely to utter it and " not be a good and true and loyal citizen, useful and an honour

to his family and to society."—"I cannot," he continues, "conceive a life without prayer, an awakening in the morning without meeting the smile of God, a lying down to rest, but not on the breast of Christ."

Ferrini aspired ceaselessly to a more complete and direct communion with God, "a continuous approximation to infinite perfection," by means of "growth in virtue, vigour of faith, joy of hope, fervour of charity, profound humility, angelic purity." In these words he was unconsciously analysing his own characteristic form of spirituality.

There is complete unity in his outlook. Against naturalism, *verismo*, miserably perverting the idea of truth to nature, against materialism limiting the scope of the real, against the shallow thoughtlessness of youth short-sightedly satisfied with fleeting joys; in advocacy of conscientious work, brave suffering, steadfast prayer, joy in nature—he has one argument, God's love poured out in the world and on man, man obeying his nature and yearning for God, *ens finitum quod tendit ad infinitum*.

If we reflect that love is nothing but the attraction of the spirit towards the object loved, can you wonder that we too must obey a law like that by which the planets complete their orbit round the sun, and this around another, and so away to the unknown point fixed by the Eternal Hand as the centre of creation? Perhaps this thought seems daring to you, but if you reread *Proverbs*, you will see that uncreated Wisdom, the splendour of the glory of God and the brightness of His light, the ineffable Word of the Father, while He dictates the rules of justice and holiness, makes the poles of the world, covers the vault of heaven with stars, and compasses the sea with its bounds. Physical laws and moral laws go back to the same source, and hence you see clearly why we find in the feeling for nature a mighty force for moral education. I have already touched on this elsewhere, where I showed the difference between the feeling for nature as a source of poetry, and even of virtue, and *naturalism*, which is falsehood, ignominy and infamy.

The quiet influence of Ferrini's personality is one of the striking features of his life. We are told, for instance,

that friends and fellow-excursionists willingly fell in with his Catholic practices. He was not a man of action in the prevailing sense of the word, as we have said, and not even a man of controversy; and he did not force his natural character. There was a strong current of Catholic social work in Italy, dating back to 1874. Professor Toniolo of Pisa—who was consulted by Leo XIII in the composition of the famous *Rerum novarum*—founded in 1889 the *Unione cattolica per gli studi sociali*, widened afterwards into the *Società scientifica generale fra i cattolici d'Italia*. Ferrini joined in 1892, and wrote and lectured very effectively for its ends. When the idea was raised of founding a Catholic University in Milan, he promised to teach there and otherwise co-operate to his utmost. But Toniolo and Ferrini were men of ideas. It was others who threw themselves into the founding of land-banks, co-operative societies, workers' insurance companies. Ferrini felt that the educated should approach the people and work for and with them. But he had little faith in the wisdom of the masses, apart from religion and morality; he looked to ethical principles for the solution of economic problems.

Once he was prevailed upon to enter public life. In 1895 the Catholics of Milan were making a strong effort to secure representation on the municipal council, an extremely anti-religious body. And it was represented to Ferrini that his name would carry weight at the elections. Sorely pressed as he was by other claims on his time, he consented to stand. Once elected, he brought to that work his usual conscientiousness, quiet regularity, and high principle. He spoke little, but with great prudence and firmness; in difficult situations he knew how to sacrifice neither religious nor civic and patriotic principle. As a public man he took keen interest, naturally, in the reestablishment of religious teaching in the schools, in the protection of children, in an anti-divorce movement; but he laboured equally over such questions as the

extension of the borough boundary. He was highly respected, and his colleagues attached great importance to his opinions. One of them, Beltrami, who was wont to enliven the weariness of meetings by drawing caricatures of his fellow-councillors, drew Ferrini with the halo of the saint.

In his time every thinking Italian had grave problems to grapple with. He was a young man in Berlin when the sensational demonstration occurred at the translation of the remains of Pius IX. During the pontificate of Leo XIII, with the Papal question at its acutest, he was a State professor. He suffered much from conflicting claims on his sympathy, but never wavered, even in the difficult time of the *non expedit*, in his loyalty and obedience to the Holy See. Anti-christian philosophy, anti-christian propaganda, anti-clericalism in every form were abhorrent to him. Religion came before everything else, even before country :—

> If religious services ceased in my poor country, I would certainly become an exile from such a moral desert, and I would follow my pilgrim path until I found an altar of God, of God who giveth joy to my youth. And if anyone reproached me with a timid and pusillanimous spirit, I would say that in prayer alone I attain strength and dignity, that if I have a beginning of character—certainly much more than all the liberals past, present and to come,—I owe it to prayer ; and that if my studies have produced some result, I owe it to the blessings of prayer.

There were a number of conspicuous teachers and writers infected with the positivist beliefs of the time who held the public ear. Against them arose the saintly priest and remarkable thinker, Rosmini ; and Catholics of Ferrini's type were his enthusiastic admirers. Yet Ferrini, with what a friend describes as a sure instinct for what was true and false, sound or dangerous, in matters affecting Christian thought, distinguished clearly between what was admirable in the man and unsound in his doctrine. He was not a philosopher by taste or special

study—in his discussion of naturalism, for instance, he does not get to the bedrock of the question—but a man of his culture and exercising an influence over others could not but express an opinion on a question so hotly contested in Catholic circles. He would not abandon that philosophy

> which is handed down from age to age, a precious inheritance of pure consciences, from Abraham wandering with his father's flocks over solitary plains, to the poor old woman rejoicing in the warmth of the winter sun, and in the dog-days seeking shelter in the shade of the aged chestnut-tree; the philosophy which is not the monopoly of a few learned men, but is rather the support of rich and poor—and is, whatever may be said, the patrimony of humanity.

After Rosminianism came Modernism. His attitude could not admit of doubt. His influence in Milan preserved some from being carried with the stream, and it is believed that many more might have been held back but for his untimely death.

Ferrini has no extreme or eccentric characteristics. He was remarkably even and self-controlled in temper, balanced in thought, sane, quiet, prudent in his outward conduct. He often took or counselled a middle course to avoid conflicting extremes; he was at pains to fulfil his Catholic obligations, without offending the patriotic feeling or even the sincere unbelief of those on the other side. He was perpetually and practically distinguishing between false principles and those who held them—between a corrupt life and the responsibility of those who led it: "Who knows the degree of their fault, and what circumstances have influenced their life? Oh, let us pray God not to abandon them for ever, since *nesciunt quid faciunt*, not to cast them off, but to call them, to convert them, to renew them."

This attitude was reciprocated by the vast majority of his acquaintances. At his death in 1902 there was no dissentient voice in the chorus of testimony to his learning,

moral distinction, and purity of life. His Catholic friends immediately began to look on him as a heavenly protector, and attributed distinct graces and favours to his intercession. The definite idea of beatification and canonization sprang up in 1905 in the mind of his great friend Professor Olivi of Modena, who then read for the first time certain of Ferrini's letters, and discovered in them what he half knew already, the secret of his inner life. The movement was sanctioned by Pius X in 1909, and since then the slow and intricate procedure has been in progress. Many pages of Ferrini's biography are filled with extracts from evidence given before ecclesiastical tribunals and from letters in favour of his cause. Two of the enormous number may be quoted, and are chosen because the names of Mgr. Duchesne and M. Goyau are known to Irish readers :

> It would be useful, for the edification of certain circles, to see raised to the altars a man who splendidly joined holiness of life and purity of faith with the scientific requirements of higher teaching. It would give teachers and taught a worthy and appropriate patron (Duchesne)

> The brilliancy of his learning was only rivalled by that of his holiness, and his elevation to the altars would put before the eyes of all young intellectuals the example of a great scholar, whose learning was transformed to charity, and whose fidelity to the faith of the Church showed, in an admirable object lesson, the harmony between scientific and revealed truth (Goyau).

If the fervent wish of Ferrini's devout clients and admirers is realised, it will be for what he *was* rather than for what he *did*. And there precisely lies his great example and interest for a vast number, especially perhaps for those engaged in that often discouraging and seemingly unproductive labour, intellectual work. Ferrini's biographer makes a lengthy extract from an article of the *Corriere della sera*, of June 2, 1911 ; and though he calls it *non edificante*, and though or rather because in

this case the *Corriere della sera* is certainly a Saul among the prophets, we conclude by reproducing it in part.

It is certain that, in an unorthodox but by no means disrespectful sense, Professor Contardo Ferrini has performed at least one miracle. That miracle is the opinion that he deserves to be raised to the altars. Think of it. A university professor, with colleagues still living, with pupils who still remember his teaching, a professor who received his salary from the Minerva, who lived while positivism was flourishing, and was colouring and impregnating all contemporary scientific thought, from jurisprudence to chemistry, this professor deemed worthy . . . . . to be invoked as one of the numerous advocates who intercede in Paradise with the Almighty for the sins and sorrows of men ! . . . . a professor, a man who lived amongst the men and books of his time, in the class in which scepticism is deepest and most widespread ! . . . . . Life to-day is so inevitably public, we are so caught in the crowd, the most reluctant have to give so much of their time and of themselves to others, and the spirit of the age presses so hard on us, so diffuses itself and penetrates even among those who struggle most against it, that the possibility of a saintly life in the Catholic sense seems utterly singular. The saint needs a vast solitude, whether he be a soldier or an apostle, a religious founder or a helper of the poor and the derelict ; a spiritual solitude, which shuts as it were with barred doors his bodily senses, and leaves him in dizzy colloquy with the divine ; so that he can afterwards pass among men with all the human virtues, but with a different nature, as though he had come down from the farthest star. And this solitude, in our day, is a miracle ; and for this miracle we express a hope that Professor Contardo Ferrini will be beatified . . . . .

Thus the *Corriere della sera*, and though the language is not technically theological, it seems hard to sum up more expressively the thoughts suggested by Ferrini's life.

MARY RYAN.

MATERIALS FOR A BOSWELLIAN PROBLEM

BY REV. RONALD KNOX, M.A.

IT is a circumstance little creditable to the ingenuity of modern criticism that a work like Boswell's *Johnson* should have been thumbed for over a century by learned and simple, without any question being raised as to the sources from which so remarkable a book was compiled. The name of Boswell, like that of Homer, Shakespeare, or Luke, is no doubt a convenient symbol; and to discard its use altogether would be pedantic, and possibly misleading. But, while we are content to use the name, we must not let the superficial unity of the work to which it is prefixed blind us to the fact that it is a compilation—a compilation from sources widely different in their manner of treatment and, to some extent, in their portrayal of the facts.

In such cases it is sometimes urged that the probabilities are, *ceteris paribus*, against a composite authorship; that scissors were less cheap, and paste was less adhesive, in ancient days than in our own; that, for all the hundreds of sources which scholars have postulated to subserve their critical theories, no single one has ever been discovered existing in its uncomposite form; that (in short) the traditional authorship of any work has a *prescriptive right*, and holds the field until such time as sure arguments can be produced to disprove it. Whatever may be the value of such contentions (and they are contentions which have found little favour among scholars these last hundred years), they clearly do not apply to the matter in hand. For (1) the age of Boswell was an age of literary forgeries; we remember Chatterton, we remember Macpherson's Ossian, we remember the *History of Formosa*. (2) The age of Boswell was an age of

pseudepigraphy; does not the work itself describe how Rolt went over to Dublin and printed Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination* bodily under his own name? how a firm of booksellers commissioned one Shiels to write the "Lives of the Poets," and then got leave from Theophilus Cibber to write "Mr. Cibber" on the title page, so that the work might pass for Colley Cibber's production? Let it be observed, too, that Johnson wrote a preface for one of Rolt's books, and employed Shiels as an amanuensis; pseudepigraphy, therefore, had eaten into the very heart of the Johnsonian circle. (3) The age of Boswell was an age of literary patchwork. Johnson himself supplied lines to Goldsmith's *Traveller* and to his *Deserted Village;* and (conversely) he printed among his Lives of the Poets, without acknowledgment, a notice of Young written by one Croft. There can scarcely have been any coterie so baffling in its literary ramifications, so unscrupulous in its literary conscience, as the coterie which mystified the public with the Letters of Junius and bamboozled it with the *Ballad of Harthacnute.*

The presumption, then, is actually in favour of a composite authorship for Boswell. And no reader who has once dallied with the thought can fail to observe, even upon the most cursory perusal, three different divisions running through the work. It will be as well to distinguish these at once, before considering the detailed proofs of their independence. Of course, these three are only the main divisions; when you have disentangled them, you are in the position of one who has unpicked the strands of a rope, without dissolving these, in turn, into their component fibres. When we speak of "sources," we do not feel bound to mention every isolated tributary that has fed them.

(1) You find, first of all, a plain, unvarnished biography of the alleged Doctor, careful to name the informants from which its matter is derived, incorporating large

numbers of apparently genuine letters, some few of which are addressed to James Boswell, Esq. It is doubtful whether the author of this document had ever met or even seen Johnson. The few passages which begin "He told me" or "He communicated to me" are probably taken wholesale from some other source. It is characteristic of this document that in its earlier part it always refers to its hero as "Johnson," unlike the "We" passages, which dignify him with the title of Doctor in 1763, two years before his doctorate was given him by Dublin (p. 248 etc.*).

(2) You enter at once into a new atmosphere when you encounter the "We" passages. Here you have a document which was apparently kept in diary form, recording few facts, numerous conversations; distinguishing each of these by the day of the month, not merely by the year. The author was (or professes to have been) on terms of daily intimacy with Johnson and his friends.

(3) Interspersed with these are extracts from yet a third document, written in dramatic or dialogue form throughout. The subject is introduced by a short rubric, and the remarks made upon it are prefaced by the names of the interlocutors, turn and turn about, as in a play. A typical instance will begin as follows: "I introduced the subject of toleration. JOHNSON. Every society has a right to preserve publick peace"; and so on. It is characteristic of this document that it records no events, only scattered utterances or *logia* of the great man; that it assigns no dates to them, and indeed has been used by the compiler at haphazard, without due reference to dating: that it records Johnson's arguments with his friends, not with his natural enemies, such as Wilkes and Gibbon.

For purposes of convenience, I shall call the author of the first document C, or the Chronicler; that of the We-passages W; and that of the third document D, or

* The page-references are to the "Everyman" edition throughout.

the Dialogist. We must further make allowance for at least two Redactors (R 1 and R 2), who have reduced the whole composition to its present shape. The following table will give some idea of the distribution of these sources, beginning with Vol. I.:

C.—Pages 1-240, 297-311, 320-341, 381-407, 447-451, etc.

W.—Pages 241-270, 285-296, 312-314, 342-365, 378-380, 425-446, etc.

D.—Pages 271-284, 315-319, 366-378, 408-424, etc.

It must be observed, however, that isolated passages from D are let in, here and there, in the middle of C or W extracts, their peculiar form lending itself to this treatment. There are between thirty and forty of these D insertions in the pages ascribed to C and W above.

The discrepancies between C and D are manifest, though not usually important. Thus, in C Rolt is credited with a "Dictionary of Trade and Commerce" which becomes a "Dictionary of Commerce" merely in D (Vol. I., pp. 221, 545), and C's "Universal Visiter" is "The Universal Visitor" in D (Vol. I., pp. 186, 546). But occasionally the differences are more significant. Thus we read in a D insertion, Vol. I., p. 28, of Jorden, Johnson's Oxford tutor:—

> He was a very worthy man, *but a heavy man, and I did not profit much by his instructions* . . . The first day after I came to College, I waited upon him, and then stayed away four. On the sixth, Mr. Jorden asked me why I had not attended. I answered, I had been sliding in Christ Church meadow . . . *Boswell.*—That, Sir, was great fortitude of mind. *Johnson.*—No, Sir, stark insensibility.

The same incident is recorded in quite different terms by C, which here incorporates some reminiscences of Dr. Warton (Vol. I., p. 162):—

> He much regretted that his first tutor was dead, for whom *he seemed to entertain the greatest regard.* He said, I had once been a whole morning sliding in Christ Church meadows, and missed his lecture in logick. After dinner he sent for me to his room. I expected a sharp rebuke for my idleness, and went with a beating

heart. When we were seated, he told me he had sent for me to drink a glass of wine with him, and to tell me he was not angry with me for missing his lecture.

It will be noticed that D, here as always, is at pains to introduce a *logion* of the Doctor's, probably at the expense of truth. A reminiscence has been turned into a retort. At the same time, it seems clear that D did not depend on C here, but that the two presuppose a common original. In other passages, it would appear that D gives us the correct version, while C has improved it out of all recognition. So a conversation on Foote, the mimic, is thus recorded by D (Vol. I., p. 369) :—

Boswell.—Did he not think of exhibiting you, Sir ? *Johnson.*—Sir, fear restrained him ; he knew I would have broken his bones.

Now let us observe what C has made of this chance remark (Vol. I., p. 517) :—

Foote . . . had resolved to imitate Johnson on the stage . . . Johnson being informed of his intention, and being at dinner at Mr. Thomas Davies' the bookseller, from whom I had the story, he asked Mr. Davies what was the price of a common oak stick ; and being answered sixpence, Why then, Sir (said he), give me leave to send your servant to purchase me a shilling one.

I fancy that if we still possessed X, the lost original of C and D, we should find it a document considerably more colourless than either of its descendants.

The interdependence of D and W is equally loose. We may instance the following comparison of W (Vol. I., p. 258) with D (Vol. II., p. 176) :

W. Campbell is not always rigidly careful of truth in his conversation, but I do not believe there is anything of this carelessness in his books. Campbell is a good man, a pious man. I am afraid he has not been in the inside of a Church for many years, but he never passes a Church without pulling off his hat. That shows that he has good principles.

D. I do not know that Campbell ever lied with pen and ink, but you could not entirely depend on anything he told you in conversation . . . However, I loved Campbell ; he was a solid orthodox man. He had a reverence for religion. Though defective in practice, he was religious in principle.

Redactor II. has altered the present tense to the past in D, since he found the incident inserted under a date when Campbell was no longer alive; but this is, without question, a doublet of the same *logion*. The common source here is more likely to have been oral than written. The same consideration arises from a comparison of Vol. I., p. 422, with Vol. II., p. 470. In the former place, D has: "Promiscuous hospitality is not the way to gain real influence . . . . No, Sir, the way to make sure of power and influence is, by lending money to your neighbours at a small interest, or perhaps at no interest at all, and having their bonds in your possession." W has the version: "No, Sir, you will have much more influence by giving or lending money where it is wanted, than by hospitality." The discrepancies sometimes extend beyond mere turns of phrase: thus W (II. 55) reports Johnson as saying of Mrs. Rudd, the actress: "Boswell is in the right; I should have visited her myself, were it not that they have now a trick of putting everything into the newspapers," whereas D (II., 235) has: "*Johnson*—Fifteen years ago I should have gone to see her. *Spottiswoode*—Because she was fifteen years younger? *Johnson*—No, Sir, but now they have a trick of putting everything into the newspapers."

Other doublets between W and D (*e.g.*, I. 345 and 411, I. 277 and II. 54, II. 268 and 530) are less interesting. On the whole, it is probable that D is a better representative than W of their common original, which I will call Y. For instance, W has the following (II. 167):—

> Talking of ghosts, he said, It is wonderful that 5,000 years have now elapsed since the creation of the world, and still it is undecided whether or not there has ever been an instance of the spirit of any person appearing after death. All argument is against it, but all belief is for it. He said, John Wesley's conversation is good.

Naturally, the reader is at a loss to follow the transition of thought. Let him turn to D's account on p. 213 of Vol. II.:—

Of John Wesley he said: He can talk well on any subject. *Boswell.*—Pray, Sir, what has he made of his story of a ghost? *Johnson.*—Why, Sir, he believes it, but not on sufficient authority. He did not take time enough to examine the girl . . . *Miss Seward* —What, Sir! About a ghost? *Johnson.*—Yes, madam; this is a question which, after 5,000 years, is still undecided.

D, in spite of its erratic use by the compiler, has obviously succeeded in giving the *logion* its true setting.

Discrepancies between C and W are less numerous. But the following instance will suffice to prove it. C had the words (I. 109): "Mr. Shiels, who *partly wrote* the Lives of the Poets to which the name of Cibber is attached"; and Redactor II, conscious of a doublet, attempted to soften it down by inserting the words "as we shall hereafter see" after the word "who." Alas for human prudence! He had neglected to observe that W's statement (II. 23) was something quite different: "He told us that the book entitled the Lives of the Poets, by Mr. Cibber, was *entirely compiled* by Mr. Shiels." The two statements are not, of course, inconsistent, but the allegation contained differs in the two cases.

And now, what of the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides?* This, too, is manifestly a composite document, but there is none of C's work in it, except a passage which has been borrowed from him by the We-passage in the *Journal*, so curiously that it deserves to be set out at full length:—

Life, Vol. II, p. 614.

His figure was large and well formed,

and his countenance of the cast of an ancient statue;
yet his appearance was rendered strange and somewhat uncouth, by the scars of that distemper which it was once imagined the royal touch could cure,
and by a slovenly mode of dress.

Journal (Introduction)

His person was large, robust, I may say, approaching to the gigantick, and grown unwieldy from corpulency.
His countenance was naturally of the cast of an ancient statue, but somewhat disfigured by

the scars of that evil which, it was formerly imagined, the royal touch could cure . . .

He had the use only of one eye, yet, so much does the mind govern, and even supply, the deficiency of organs, that his visual perceptions as far as they extended were uncommonly quick and accurate.	His sight had always been somewhat weak, yet, so much does mind govern, and even supply, the deficiency of organs, that his perceptions were uncommonly quick and accurate.

The most casual observer cannot fail to note that it is the *Journal* which has borrowed from C, and not *vice versa*. The later scribe has exaggerated, with the natural tendency of the human mind towards mythology, the grossness of the Doctor's person, and, omitting the loss of the one eye, he has gratuitously implied that the sight of the other was weak.

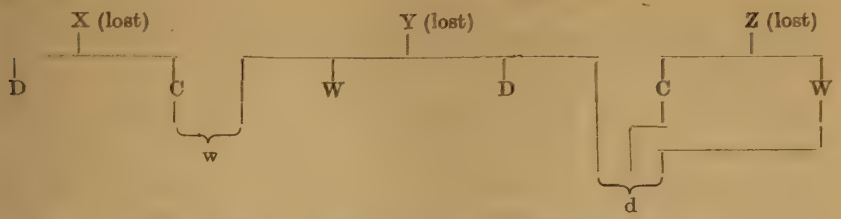
But, if C has deserted us, W and D persist, though ti is highly doubtful whether the W and D of the *Journal* are, respectively, the W and D of the *Life*. On the contrary, verbal resemblances occur between D of the *Life* and W of the *Journal*, *e.g.*, "The noblest prospect that (which) a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road that leads him to England (London)." The *logion* is referred by D to a party at the Mitre, by W to a scene which purports to have taken place at Edinburgh Castle (*Life*, Vol. I., p. 264; *Journal*, under Nov. 10). On the other hand, the *logion* about Walmsley and Toryism is verbally identical in W (*Life*, Vol. I., p. 267) and in a W-passage of the Journal (under Nov. 10). Johnson's contention that Swift could not have written the *Tale of a Tub*, because it was too good, is recorded in the *Life* by D (I. 280) and by W (I. 530), and also by a We-passage of the *Journal* (under Aug. 16). It is safest, then, to assume that both the documents used in the *Journal* owed some (at least) of their inspiration to Y, the common original of D and W in the *Life*; I have designated these Journal-sources by the letters small d and small w.

It is plain that D and d do not depend entirely on a common source. Thus D (I. 510) has: "If a man were to go by chance at the same time with Burke under a shed, to shun a shower, he would say: This is an extraordinary man." Whereas d substitutes (under Aug. 15):

" Burke, Sir, is such a man that if you met him for the first time in the street where you were stopped by a drove of oxen, and you and he stepped aside to take shelter but for five minutes, he'd talk to you in such a manner, that when you parted, you would say, This is an extraordinary man." This latter version appears to be corrupt—one does not take shelter from oxen ; the former may perhaps point to a verse original (*cf.* the alliteration of " shed, to shun a shower "). On the other hand, the resemblances between W and w are clearly marked (*cf.* I. 485 with *Journal* of Oct. 14, II. 220 with *Journal* of Aug. 20).

Perhaps the most instructive doublet of all is the famous *logion* which compares a ship to a prison. In the *Journal* for Aug. 31, d has " No man will be a sailor who has contrivance enough to get himself into a jail ; for being in a ship is being in a jail, with the chance of being drowned." And under Sept. 23 the same document gives " The man in a jail has more room, better food, and commonly better company, AND IS IN SAFETY." C in the *Life* (I. 215) reproduces both these logia, but omits the words " and is in safety " in the second. A footnote gives references to the passages in the *Journal*. Elsewhere in the *Life* (I. 612), W gives us the following : " A ship is worse than a gaol (*sic*). There is, in a gaol, better air, better company, better conveniency of every kind ; and a ship has the additional disadvantage of being in danger." It would be hard to find a more interesting instance of literary transmission. There was, in the original source Z from which C and W borrowed, a *logion* which insisted that a prison was only equal to a jail in respect of discomfort, and superior to it in respect of safety. C and W have their respective versions of it. Then d, who has access to C and W, borrows the two quotations from C, and adds, from W, the rider " and is in safety." Finally, Redactor II confuses the trail by giving us references to the *Journal* in footnotes to the *Life*.

We may now represent our results in the following tabular form :—



It would be interesting, but somewhat laborious, to examine the characteristic differences between these various sources in the picture which they give of their hero. It is certain, for example, that those passages which represent Dr. Johnson as favourable to the Catholic religion are due entirely to D (*cf.* I. 375, 376-377, 411, 484, II. 520), whereas his true attitude was on the whole one of repugnance, as may be seen from W's portrayal of him (I. 610, II. 14, 289). The reference in II. 14 appears, indeed, in the dialogue form, and might have been attributed to D, but the exact mark of date shows that it is a We-passage : probably the word " said " has dropped out after the word " Johnson." Compare especially Johnson's attitude on the Invocation of Saints, as reported in II. 289, with his defence of the doctrine in two of the D-passages. Again, D tends to give us the impression that Dr. Johnson was something of a temperance fanatic (I. 436, 439, II. 29, 177, 233, 239) ; whereas W shows that if anything he was in favour of drinking (II. 39, 125, 270, 275). But it is not always easy to trace these discrepancies to their true source. For example, Johnson's famous account of the tour is called " A Journey to the Hebrides " in I. 500 (C), 502 (C), 507 (C), II. 189 (D), 232 (D), whereas it is a " Journey to the Western Islands " in I. 517 (C), 557 (W), II. 73 (C), 103 (W), 127 (W), and 216 (D).

A more serious question naturally presents itself : How much, in either book, gives us authentic information ;

how much is to be taken with a grain of salt? On the whole, it may be said that C is a careful narrative, documented from various sources and giving a consistent picture of the Doctor's life and character. Can we say as much for D or for W? C gives us the picture of a voracious reader and a prolific author, who would have (one would think) little time for convivial company or for unnecessary conversation. Whereas a perusal of D or W conveys the impression that the man was for ever talking and hobnobbing with his cronies; he never pleads an engagement or complains of any press of work; in short, it is the picture of an idler. Can the two really be reconciled? And is there any real evidence that Johnson was fond of talking? On the contrary, there is good reason to believe that he was reserved and shy in company. So at least we read in a passage probably attributable to C (II. 220): "Tom Tyers described me the best: Sir (he said), you are like a ghost; you never speak till you are spoken to," an estimate which w repeats under Aug. 20. Can it be said that Johnson, in D or in W, ever waits till he is spoken to? On the contrary, it seems impossible for anybody else to get a word in edgeways.

We all know how frequently *bons mots* are attributed to Dr. Johnson or to Sydney Smith, when in fact their origin is much later or much earlier. If some of the *bons mots* attributed to Dr. Johnson are spurious, why not all? The more so since (as I have abundantly shown) the exact form of expression in them and even the point conveyed by them is often differently represented by the different sources. It seems evident upon a closer view that C gives us a true, though not a very interesting biography, whose hero is an awkward recluse, distinguished only as a man of letters; that subsequent legends have grown up round his name (represented by W and D), which would represent him as a master of the social arts and graces. To emphasize the distinction between the

two pictures, I need only notice that C in II. 614 tells us Johnson, " when he rode, had no command or direction of his horse, but was carried as if in a balloon " ; yet in I. 247 W has the effrontery to print the words : " I told him I had been to see Johnson ride upon three horses ! "*

And if we are to write down W and D in the *Life* as apocryphal, what of the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides ?* Can we suppose that this has any foundation in fact ? Dr. Johnson himself, of course, wrote an account of such a Journey, but it is improbable that anyone was meant to take this seriously in an age when bogus travels were so commonly published. The only passage in the *Life* which suggests that Dr. Johnson did actually make such a tour is a brief statement on p. 491 of Vol. I., supported by a few letters supposed to have passed between Johnson and his friend. (There is no allusion to it in letters to any other person). The passage on p. 491 is of a highly suspicious character ; it definitely states that Johnson arrived in Scotland on August 18th, whereas the *Journal* brings him to Edinburgh on Aug. 14th. Is it not clear that we are in the realm of mythology ? The more so as the *Journal* itself abounds in improbabilities. It relates, for example, the whole Flora Macdonald saga as if it were fact. *The Tour to the Hebrides*, if I may so express myself, is a *tour de force.*

Although it is highly doubtful, as we have seen, whether Samuel Johnson really uttered any of those numerous *dicta* with which the credulity or carelessness of contemporary writers has credited him, we must not therefore suppose that such a book as Boswell's *Life* has no permanent value. There is a higher truth than that of mere fact ; and the portrait which the book gives of its hero, however destitute of any historical foundation, will not cease to be an inspiration to many

* A friend has suggested to me that this " Johnson " is someone else of the same name ; surely this is mere special pleading. Everywhere else in the *Life* the name ' Johnson " has only one meaning.

thoughtful people and to mould the ideals of posterity. Dr. Johnson will not, perhaps, be so great a figure to our descendants as he was to our forefathers. It is now recognised that the six "amanueneses" whom he employed were in fact the authors of the Dictionary which goes by his name, while he himself added little except his name and a few unimportant redactions. Though we cannot positively assert, we can at least give good reasons for suspecting, that Rasselas is a skit on the Johnsonian manner, produced by the same lively talent which gave us the *Letters of Junius*.* But Johnson will remain a tradition and a legend for generations of Englishmen to admire. He will be remembered as one who, with a natural tendency towards ill-health, struggled manfully against the disqualifications imposed upon him by disease; as one who was born in a humble station, yet rose, through the editing of several newspapers, into a position of intimacy with rich men; as a lover of London, and an early patron of its principal restaurants. If the facts of his life are now mostly disputed, and the authenticity of his works largely denied, that is, after all, but the penalty of having matriculated two hundred years ago—it may as well come now, since it would have had to come sooner or later. "Facts," says the Bishop of Much Wenlock in the current number of his Diocesan Magazine, "are only the steam which obscures the mirror of truth."

RONALD KNOX.

* Rasselas was published "in March or April of 1759," and it can hardly be a coincidence that its title, "Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia," is the anagram of the words "April, i.e., Ass-season, by Francis."

A MUSTER OF MISSIOLOGISTS

BY REV. T. GAVAN DUFFY

MISSIOLOGISTS.—By almost any other name they would, maybe, tickle more soothingly the sharp olfactory organ of the purist; but life's experience bids us take things as we find them, so we shall not quarrel with the philology of the name which they have chosen from the beginning.

The first "Missiological Congress" of Louvain opened on Sept. 10, 1923; the sixth has just this moment closed. Let us pry discreetly into its actiology before taking it to our hearts.

I know one quick infallible test of all such things, and that is chaff. "*Je le blague en détail, mais je l'admire en bloc.*" It would be sinful not to tease anyone who takes himself so very seriously as the Missiologist; it would be criminal to disparage him. And healthy banter is in truth a tribute which rings truer than the heaviest slabs of fulsome praise. Besides, after being steadily stimulated for many days, one may be forgiven for a tendency to kick up one's heels, like a donkey after it has watched the race-horses go by. Nature calls imperiously for such reactions and for a swinging back to equilibrium. The sublime is tempered ever by the ridiculous; and the deadliest earnestness is driven, by sheer despair, to flippancy.

I am only terrified lest I should convey, to some unwary reader, the false impression that "missiology," in its own sphere, is something to be laughed at. No intellectual movement was ever that. We needs must first be told what it claims to be, where it places itself in the missionary programme of the Church and how it seeks to operate; then, if it oversteps its limits, we shall

have a right to scoff; but if it is faithful to itself, we shall have no other weapon than that chaff which is the pledge of brotherhood and by means of which one branch of the Service shows its contemptuous admiration for another. In the Mission Army, the operative branch has occasionally shown itself a little touchy to the innuendoes of the speculative branch; and thus we rather gave away the fact that we were not quite sure of our own position. If the "high-brows" take our bantering better, they will go more than half way towards convincing us of their own soundness.

The Louvain Conferences (not to be confounded with those others, of Malines) have their charter from Pope Pius XI, who, in an autograph letter, sponsored them in the very first year of their existence. They hark back to various pronouncements of the same supreme Authority, and proclaim the need of bringing science and erudition and the cold clear light of thought to play upon the many paths along which we Missioners are treading eagerly, but sometimes blindly, in our search for souls. The invidiousness of this position would entirely vanish if the Missiological Movement were content with bringing Missioners together for reciprocal enlightenment; indeed it has long been one of my most cherished (and proclaimed) convictions that we should see more of each other's work and cultivate a very broad sympathy with each other's particular problems and special methods; stagnation has too often been the result of our mutual suspiciousness. In this direction lies, for me, Louvain's true claim upon our grateful recognition. But what has sometimes put up the back of the men in India or China or elsewhere has been the arrival, by successive mails, of bulky printed criticisms, as heavily documented as they were slightly practical, emanating from professors and pupils of "missiology"; or worse still, the landing, from successive boats, of young, enthusiastic and entirely admirable novices, who had "Mission Science" at their

finger-tips and who hailed us with altitudinous tolerance and ingenious variations on " You are old, Father William —the young man said " . . . . babes and sucklings, of course, with a divine right to wisdom, but still rather galling to grown-up flesh and blood. It may be quite unjust to saddle poor Louvain with all the heroisms of all its adepts ; but human nature is not just ; it accepts *prima facie* evidence as final ; and this kind of evidence the Missiologists have sometimes furnished.

The old Societies, on their side, are unreasonable in quite another way. They want Mission publicity (seeing that it is a condition of existence—for our work must be made public if it is to get public support, without which it perishes). Yet, if one of their own members interrupts his missionary labours to write or preach or beg (or attend a " Missiological Week "), he runs a heavy risk of being branded by them as a dilettante, not to be taken seriously. And if outsiders, non-Missioners, home-workers or Missiologists hold up the Mission standard, their action passes for an impertinent intrusion. So there we are ; meanwhile the general Catholic public puts the seal of ridicule upon the situation by persisting in regarding the whole of Mission propaganda as a joke (albeit a rather stale and tiresome one) by whomsoever made.

Before we sink in this morass, let us return to our *Semaines de Missiologistes* and regard them, for safety's sake, purely as meetings of Missioners who come together to pool their experiences and learn from one another. As such, these " Weeks " are certainly invaluable. This will appear with greater clearness if we preface this year's proceedings with some remarks on the reports of previous years.

Each year a central theme has been set up as the *leitmotiv* of the papers to be read. The first (in 1923) was vague enough : *Missionary Methods and Organisation.* St. Paul's methods were studied, then Rome's attitude towards the Missions. Next one might have

expected a paper on the methods of St. Francis Xavier; there was none. His life and his missionary methods are given in two of the earliest volumes of the Louvain Missiological library, but his name did not appear in that first year (and indeed has not yet appeared at all) in the title of any paper. One is tempted to suspect that St. Francis Xavier did not quite furnish the key-note wanted; anyhow, the methods of de Nobili were at once put forward. Now de Nobili was the protagonist of "adaptation," and "adaptation" has from the beginning been an obsession to the Louvain missiological school; it calls for the greatest possible de-Europeanisation of the Missioner and for his closer identification with the people he wants to reach. There is plenty to be said for it, but it has not always and everywhere been said with due discretion, with proper recollection of past painful conflicts and official pronouncements, with sufficient play of common sense or with adequate allowance for that extreme awareness of modern man, all the world over, in matters of nationality, which makes him at once detect and resent any semblance of condescension.

De Nobili once installed, the other subjects treated at the first meeting were a miscellaneous assortment of method-studies. I notice that there were at least two papers on Catechists; but as the printed report is no longer available, I cannot say just how far the appositeness of the Catechist theory to the adaptation thesis was noticed at that time.

In 1924, the second "Week" brought together 200 Missioners and Mission students. There must have been some difficulty in getting a sufficiency of competent and willing lecturers; for the original theme, which was *Protestant Propaganda*, was supplemented by another: *Schools*. And Fr. Lebbe, the much-discussed Belgian Chinaman, read a paper on *The Chinese Abroad*.

The third year fixed the character of the movement much more definitely. The Committee was reorganised

so as to include important representatives of various missionary Orders and Societies. Father Lallemand, the originator of the movement, being about to return to his mission in Bengal, was succeeded as Secretary by Father Charles, whose amazing documentary knowledge of the Missions and readiness of speech marked him out to hold with perfect assurance the conductor's baton over these missionary oratorios. The third meeting was attended by a number of Bishops and Superiors, and the attendance figure reached 400. Recognition was coming fast, but was not yet universal. The theme in 1925 was as delicate and ticklish as it could well be: *Native Aspirations in Mission Lands.* Nationalism is, of course, the ruling passion of our time, and Rome has repeatedly pointed out the pitfalls that it opens before the Missioners' feet and the extent to which it should be considered in the Church's apostolate among the pagans. But a vast and complicated field of study remains open, in the matter of the local applications of the Holy Father's principles. The third "Week" did not go by without some stormy moments, the echoes of which are rumbling round the Missions even yet.

The appearance of the Encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae* and the appointment of the first Chinese Bishops greatly strengthened the position of the Louvain school of missiology. Accordingly, the theme of the fourth "Week," in 1926, went straight to the main point at issue, *The "Adaptation" Problem.* In his opening paper, Fr. Charles showed how St. Thomas used what might have seemed the most unsuitable Greek materials in building the main edifice of Catholic theology; and then, quoting some pearls of Oriental wisdom, he concluded that such materials were simply crying aloud to be welded into the walls of the City of God. Father Dufonteny, a Redemptorist from the Belgian Congo, went very deeply into the native reactions to our methods of approach; any Missioner who reads that paper will discard for ever

any attitude of superiority, or of assurance even, in his dealings with the "savage"; it is this kind of study, by men from the heart of Missiondom, warm with the fragrance of love and understanding, palpitating with realism, humble with eagerness to probe native mentality and conform to native standards, that constitutes the abiding value of "missiology." If the Louvain school could maintain this level at all times, it would have no critics, for it would arouse no misunderstanding.

The only other paper on which I need comment here was the one on "*Catechists*" by Father Dubois, S.J. While he treated the subject with considerable amplitude and not a little knowledge, he was (to the enthusiast) a trifle academic. One does not feel him shuddering with horror at the meagre recognition given to our lay auxiliaries, through the agency of whom come almost all the conversions that are made; he does not emphasize the fact that they are underpaid and often underfed or that hardly any Mission has enough of them, for lack of some home organisation for their support; he does not wipe the floor with those who waive aside the entire question, as though it were of secondary import or as though it were already solved; he is much too cautious and too polite to suggest that, until provision is made for those who are doing all the spade-work in the Mission Field, it is hard to be entirely patient with those who are doing all the talking at home. And he misses another opportunity: that of making clear (though he does touch on it) that the multiplication of good Catechists is the sanest possible kind of "adaptation." It can be applied by everyone, without friction and without transition; it does not make too exacting a demand on the intelligence or the humility of the European Missioner or run the risk of making him ridiculous; it puts into our hands an instrument already "adapted" in the nature of things, for the whole point of using Catechists is that they melt into the background of village life and exemplify

Christianity as the villager should live it. The Missioner's part is then to support and direct his Catechists, to increase their number and their efficiency and thus to cover his whole territory in a manner utterly impossible in any other way, be the Priest as de-Europeanized and as "adapted" as he may.

Let me add two points more, while we are on the Catechist question; for unfortunately the matter has not appeared again on the programmes of subsequent meetings up to the present, and no opportunity seemed to offer during this year's "Week" when it could have been brought forward with any degree of apropos or without making an obvious discord with the speculative nature of the proceedings. Both points are small, but worthy of the consideration of missionary executives. The first is that the old system of leaving to the individual Missioner the training of his Catechists deserves to be discarded as being psychologically unsound. The reason is that the Oriental, under training, almost invariably takes a mould—he lets himself be cast, once for all, in conformity with one man's exigencies—and if that man is then succeeded by some other type, the "disciple" cannot "adapt" himself to the new leader; whereas if, in any Mission, the training of all the Catechists is uniform (as it is in a Training School *ad hoc*), while it may lose a little in personal touch, it gains enormously in permanence. That is the chief reason (added to considerations of time-saving and specialisation) why every Mission should have its Training School for Catechists. The second point is a suggestion. We need two kinds of Catechists, the Schoolmaster and the Catechist properly so-called, who scouts for souls among the villages. In the present educational crisis of almost all the Missions we ought to include in the training of all our lay auxiliaries the pedagogical attainments called for by Local Government regulations; then, during their first ten years of service, they would teach school, thus learning their

religion in the best possible manner. But all native schoolmasters grow stale, and it is good for them to be able to look forward to a change, to something in the nature of promotion. The suggestion, then, is that the position of Catechist be held up as a desirable *promotion* from the position of teacher in a school; age and experience (and probably a growing family) will by that time have come, to earn consideration for the man in the eyes of the native world at large, and he will be far more influent as well as far more able for his work. Promotion, however, implies a rise in salary—and where are the Missioners going to find the money, until an organisation for the purpose puts the cause of the Catechists before the Catholics at home? The obviousness of these remarks does not, I think, weaken their force or make them in any way less opportune.

When the fifth "Week" opened, in August, 1927, the situation of the missiological movement was much improved. Not only had the Holy Father repeatedly shown his interest, not only was the Papal Nuncio to Belgium present at the meeting, but a Committee of Honour had been established, including fifty heads of Belgian Orders and Societies connected with the Missions. Statutes had also been drawn up, of which the following are the most significant:—

(1) The "Louvain Missiological Week" has been founded . . . with a view to giving Missioners at regular intervals the opportunity of sharing and classifying their experiences and thus making them available to all those who take a practical (*sic*) interest in the Missions.

(3) As the "Week" recognizes no other source of guidance than the Holy See, no practical (*sic*) suggestions [or better, hopes (voeux)] may be expressed at the conclusion of the papers and discussions.

(4) For opinions expressed in the papers and discussions nobody but their authors shall be responsible.

(6) Questions concerning the recruiting of vocations and the financing of missionary Bodies, as well as all appeals for money, are excluded from the papers and discussions.

In other words, the "Week" offers a platform to theoretical discussion, in the hope that practical results will follow outside, for which it will not take responsibility. This restriction of its scope is quite legitimate, of course; it is wise and safe, and proper, and approved. At the same time, it cannot but emasculate the missiological body and, by confining it in the rarefied atmosphere of speculation, impair its chances of surviving when brought in contact with the realism of life in pagan lands. However that may be, the study of missiology is as separate from the apostolate as the pursuit of theology is separate from sanctity; and if Seminary professors feel the need of animating the dry dust of the divines with generous injections of piety and prayer, so do the Missioners keep urging that Mission Study must be vivified and kept vibrant by ceaseless insistence on the basic notion of self-sacrifice and the appeal to the spirit of the Martyrs.

The theme for the fifth year was: *Les Elites en Pays de Mission.* The outstanding speakers of the Week were two: Fr. Van Wing, S.J., whose paper dealt with the various ways in which the Belgian Jesuits have used Catechists (truly a selected body, an *élite*) in their Congo Mission, making it a model African experiment; and Fr. Aupiais, who, until he was called home as Provincial of the Lyons Society for African Missions, was the most thorough-going "adaptationist" in the Mission Field. His admiration for the negroes of Dahomey rings absolutely true; his collections of folk-lore and arts and crafts and proverbs and social customs have trumpeted a challenge to the contemptuous whites; his results in the training of "élites" to defend against obliteration the patrimony of negro civilisation have been remarkable. He is probably the greatest asset possessed by the promoters of the Weeks, because he has tested his theories first under the tropical sun and made them public only after the event—so that he has disarmed all criticism in the part of the Missioners in the Field.

The sixth Week began on Aug. 10, 1928, and ended on the night of the 14th. The theme for the present year was: *The Soul of the Peoples to whom the Gospel is to be carried* . . . . meaning, if I mistake not, "Let us try to look at the Mission Problem through Oriental eyes." For this purpose we assembled, more than 500 strong, of thirty nationalities and fifty Congregations, in one of the splendid panelled halls of the renovated University of Louvain, under the presidency of Fr. Ulrix, one of Cardinal Lavigerie's White Fathers. The President's inaugural address mentioned as one of the ideals of the assembly: "wholesale respect for the natives" of pagan lands (*respect total de l'indigène*), and disclaimed all sympathy with any other imperialism than that of Christ. It demanded *sincerity* in our search for better methods of approach, and also proper deference to the *experience* of the past, as being the stuff out of which we can make the future. It then invited us to seek out the ruins of creation in the souls of heathendom, in order to build the life of grace thereon.

The first paper must be mentioned, though I hasten to reassure the reader, who may fear that I am now about to inflict upon him the contents of all the papers in succession. I am not. The first paper was read by Fr. Charles, who is always an arresting personality. (Indeed, he policed the meeting, as "Secretary"—we should say "Chairman"—with alarming cleverness; a scintillating wit, a touch of ruthlessness, a gush of genuine eloquence, a little partiality, abundant self-possession, sharp tongue, keen eyes—all these he brought into play as the Week produced, like all such Congresses, its Doldrums and its Moments, its Crises and its Escapes, its Triumphs and its Faux-pas. The only opportunity anybody got of taking vengeance for the Chairman's sallies was at the final banquet, when one-minute speeches were demanded; one minute is ample time to floor a man with a few pointed allusions, if you get him in the open

after he has been sniping for four days from the shelter of the Chair; and the camaraderie of the banquet atmosphere takes away the sting. Several victims embraced the opportunity). Fr. Charles' paper was a masterpiece, and nobody who heard him will ever leave unchallenged any association of the negro races with the curse of Cain; that bad excuse for tyranny is exploded for all time. In the discussion that ensued, somebody produced an indulgenced prayer (issued on a leaflet bearing an *imprimatur*) in which the petition was that the Gospel might reach at last the negro races "crushed under the curse of Cain"—let us hope that all such charitable crudities will be burned up in the fire of Fr. Charles' penetrating lens. One of the most interesting "interventions" at this stage (and indeed throughout the Week) was that of M. Ryckmans, a high official of the Belgian Congo and a true friend of the native people in his mandated territory of Urundi; his clear mind, cultured expression and obvious devotion to the negro made an immense impression on the assembly.

The next standard-bearer of genuine admiration for the negro was our friend, Fr. Aupiais. He rose to lyric heights in his panegyric of those "people of gold" (quoting the Holy Father). He pointed out how eagerly the imperialist interests have disparaged the African by associating him in the public mind with the shortcomings of the American negro; unfair and ignorant evolutionists, too, have blackened the blacks, against all evidence. The Missioners, he said, are greatly struck by the steadiness of native social life and by the sagacity of jungle folk-lore; and he presented an idyllic picture of negro society, firm in its own soil until white greed and selfishness come to drag it out by the roots. He detailed the peasant virtues of the blacks, who, living close to nature, were thrown back on God in a kind of fatalism easily purified into resignation and devotion to the Will Divine; their soul was unspoiled by money,

their outlook was not licentious, their heart was sound; they were a treasure worthy of our most earnest seeking. The great charm of Fr. Aupiais, in all his public utterance, is the splendid ease with which he moves among the complex problems of the missionary life and the unhesitating frankness with which he faces facts; he is the *beau idéal* of Missiologists.

The last paper of the day, on *Whether the Negro is a Child*, brought the livcliest discussion of the whole Week. The Missioners cited examples of flagrant childishness, and the Missiologists turned every point by saying that it only proved a childlikeness that would have enchanted the children's Friend. Fr. Charles somehow averted bloodshed.

The proceedings of the second day opened with immense enthusiasm over a paper read by a negro Seminarian (a pupil of Fr. Aupiais) describing his own people. It was beautifully written, well delivered (with a little too much emphasis, but no bombast), and entirely convincing. During the ovation that followed, Fr. Charles scaled the rostrum and threw his arms round the black lecturer, amid the audience's tumultuous applause.

To sober us, a dry paper was then read, on the *Mental Power of the Negro;* the best phrase in it was a quotation from Mgr. Le Roy to the effect that (speaking of the negro) "nothing resembles his soul so much as our soul."

Examining next the negro's *spiritual* make-up, a White Father noted the following, among many other characteristics: enlightened faith, capacity for heroic virtue, tendency to intemperate zeal, a degree of sadness (as if overwhelmed) relieved by bursts of gaiety and playful malice, faithfulness, emotionalism, entrain, generosity and an admirable facility for personal love of God.

The audience was beginning to feel that Africa was growing more than life-sized, when the last paper of the second day suddenly switched across to the South Seas.

Fr. Courtais, of the Marists, analysed *The Melanesian Soul.* His findings were astonishingly similar to those of the Missioner from Africa; he noted first that his Islanders were probably the lowest group of humans; yet they were as alert as possible in practical matters (like strategy and politics and scoutcraft), though of course contact with "civilisation" completely stopped their development along those lines by cancelling all need of effort; but his point was that one must conclude to their capacity for thought even on the highest level. Moreover, they have a keen religious sense and are receptive to the spiritual.

Dr. Zacharias, a layman who, for years, has been doing journalistic work in India with the object of interpreting Christianity to the intellectuals, pointed out that the primitives described by Fr. Courtais were probably dying of *ennui* under the European regime and that the Faith's best chance was that it gave them a new interest in life. Fr. Courtais protested that they were not dying out at all, but increasing rapidly in population. Such are the limitations of human speech!

On the third morning, a paper was read on *The Chinese Peasant.* It was read in Flemish, much to the disgust of a group of Chinese students who felt that they were being deliberately excluded from the proceedings. Indeed, on the last afternoon, during a long discussion upon Islamism, a Chinese doctor caught the Chairman's eye and, on being given the floor, passionately protested that China was being slighted by all this concentration upon Africa; to the stupefaction of the assembly, he then burst into floods of weeping, which not even the soothing assurances of Fr. Charles' fervid eloquence availed to stem.

On another occasion the audience itself was moved to tears. A brilliant young Indian Jesuit from Chota Nagpore ended his superb address (on *The Animists of India*) with so eloquent a tribute to the Belgian Fathers

of his Society, to whom he owed his faith and his vocation, and gave the Belgian families which had sent their sons to the rescue of his people so moving a gush of unaffected gratitude that, hard-boiled equatorians as we thought ourselves, he touched our inmost wells of sentiment.

The Mohammedan problem occupied the third afternoon and the whole fourth day. It was fitly introduced by an Indian Capuchin, Fr. Antonin Hamed Ullah, who was himself a follower of the Prophet up to the age of 25, entered the noviciate at 29 and is now pursuing higher studies with a view to the Indian Missions.

Fr. Beaupays, Belgium's most remarkable Franciscan and until recently Prefect Apostolic of Rhodes, showed how the Koran reflected the personal reactions of Mohammed to the medley of bazaar theology current in his day and place. His explanation of the stability of Mohammedan conviction was that the constant asseveration of the Koran's excellence ended by breeding a pride of possession that nobody could shake.

During the discussions it came out that many Mohammedan peoples (like the Berbers of Morocco) are not more than superficially Islamized; that modern conditions have introduced a critical spirit even into the strongholds of the Prophet, so that the possibility of religious discussion is beginning to be recognised; that, apart from this concession of the modern Mohammedans, even the reactionaries no longer regard conversion to Christianity as necessarily worthy of instant death; and that consequently there are not lacking missionary opportunities if we will only seize them. Forgetting for the moment the Statutes of the Week, several practical as well as thoughtful people made explicit suggestions and formulated "voeux." Common sense being for the moment in the ascendant, it never occurred to anyone that they should be called to order.

"*Do the Mohammedans pray?*" was the conundrum faced by the next paper. Everybody was much inter-

ested, for we have all seen the Faithful at their ostentatious orisons. The following points were made: traditionally, liturgical prayer has been regarded as essential, but nothing more than external conformity has been required; political and religious power having usually been one, public prayer has often become an act of loyalty, sometimes being enforced by the lash; the majority of women do not pray at all, the workmen in the cities hardly do, the peasants are giving it up too; there is *some* real personal prayer, though formalism predominates; prayer, as also alms, is regarded as restoring the balance weighted down by evil deeds—so that an equality of sin and prayer seems to be the ideal; and the feeling that "God does what He likes" rather paralyses petition.

The last paper of all contended, in effect, that we have not really tried to reach the Mohammedans at all; that when we have made serious attempts, we have had substantial success; that the Mohammedans despise our Faith because it does not seek to spread; that Islam is gaining ground in Africa; that we need a new science, a Moslem Missiology; that there are quite enough accessible weak points in the Mohammedan world for us to have no further excuse for procrastination and delay; that Lavigerie and de Foucault have shown the way; and that 230 million followers of the Prophet surely should tempt us to the task. The bugbear of Religious War, which has made the English and the French so pusillanimous that they forbid all efforts to evangelise the Mussulmans in some of their colonial countries, is not supported by experiment.

But *why*, asked somebody, is the Mohammedan so tenacious of his belief, even when he is completely ignorant or only just converted to Islam? What makes the Arab trader always an apostle? What is that special thing which puts the problem of the evangelisation of Mohammedanism in a class apart from all our other problems?

All the specialists had a shot at answering these questions; not one of them was more than plausible. Here is a real nut for the Missiologists to crack; may they not break their teeth on it!

In his farewell speech Fr. Charles demeaned himself to a defensive attitude. Let it not be said, he begged, that we have dwelt among the clouds; our function is not executive, but rather to broaden the horizon of the workers and make sharp their vision. We can help to make them conscious of a new pride in their Catholic faith and their Apostolic vocation; we can back their efforts with a wall of unanimity at home. Our efforts behind the lines are far from useless; only think—in a quite modern work of specialised theology, running to many volumes, there is not a chapter, not a thesis, not a line on spreading the Kingdom of God in pagan lands; the diffusion of the knowledge of God is a matter completely foreign to the professional preoccupations of those who make God their study. If we can bring about a change and make theology collaborate in the extension of the Church, surely we shall soon justify, in the most practical and zealous eyes, our existence and our work.

So the Missiologists dispersed to their laborious investigations, and we Missioners to our easy-going Missions. And the *Soul of the Peoples to whom the Gospel is to be carried* was by all of us left where we had found it, in the hands of God. For the fundamental problem of the Missions is one which neither they nor we can solve, but only the Priests and People of Christendom by the exercise of heroic generosity.

T. GAVAN DUFFY.

Tindivanam
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BLOOD

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WHAT picture does the word "blood" conjure up in the mind of the layman? One will visualise the chase—the meet, the pursuit, the kill; another will recall the clash of combat—the boom of guns, the bursting shell, the mangled limbs; still others will think of torture, murder, suicide. But whatever the mental impression made by the sound on the mind, we shall find that the layman always associates the word with disease and suffering, and death. In the medical mind these pictures do not so readily arise. The physician looks on blood as an essential fluid by means of which his drugs are brought to the diseased organ. The surgeon welcomes it as the carrier of substances which assist his operation—wounds to heal. The pathologist realises that without it many of his most brilliant diagnoses could never be made. Still, each one regards it as something to be welcomed rather than dreaded, and associates it with health and life rather than with disease and death.

Of what then is the blood composed? When shed it quickly clots, and soon a few drops of clear watery fluid appear on the surface. Eventually we find a dark red mass of clot lying bathed in a pool of clear serum, just as the clotting of milk results in the production of curd and whey. The serum is usually of a pale yellowish colour, but often one finds it a light green or brownish shade. Suppose now we examine the blood under the microscope before it clots, what do we find? Everywhere we see myriads of little yellow discs like biscuits or saucers, which tend to arrange themselves in piles just like the stacks of sovereigns we used to see behind the banker's grille in pre-war times. In the seventeenth century

these piles were regarded by Athanasius Kircher, a distinguished Jesuit and scientist of Fulda, as a countless brood of worms. He observed them in a case of plague, and no doubt the presence of such "worms" in the blood afforded him a simple explanation of the rapid onset of putrefaction after death. These little discs, now known as the red cells or corpuscles, are straw-coloured when seen by transmitted light, as they are under the microscope, but when viewed by reflected light in thin layers they have a reddish brown appearance, and in thick layers, of course, we see them red. These red cells are indeed very extraordinary bodies. Formed in the bone-marrow, where they possess a nucleus or governing body which is essential to the life of the cell, they are cast into the circulating blood without nuclei, burnt-out suns. But just as the moon, no longer glowing, transmits light to the earth, so too these red cells have a purpose. The colour of these little bodies is due to the presence of a pigment, haemoglobin, an iron-compound. This haemoglobin has a strong affinity for oxygen, with which it combines in the lungs and of which it is deprived by the tissues. The red cells therefore act as a means of transport of oxygen, and after a short duration in the circulation they become played-out and are destroyed. The best idea of their size is got by trying to grasp the fact that there are approximately 300 million of these objects in a single drop of blood.

Mixed up with the red cells we find others, the white cells. They are not nearly as numerous as the former, are colourless, and possess nuclei, thus resembling the other cells throughout the body. The white cells are of several types, which differ from one another in size, staining properties, and so on. The majority of them are phagocytes or scavengers. What function do these leucocytes or white cells possess? Unlike the red corpuscles, which are carried along in the blood like leaves on a stream, the white corpuscles, although similarly

carried in the circulating blood, are capable of independent movement, and in the blood and other tissues they act as scavengers, pouncing on any micro-organisms which enter the body and devouring them. But they are not content with waiting till bacteria reach the blood. Should a microbe enter the body through a wound they immediately hasten to the danger spot and give battle. The microbe will begin to multiply on arrival, and unless speedily dealt with, instead of a frontier incident, a war quickly develops. The bacteria increase in numbers with extreme rapidity and pour out poison with the object of stupefying their antagonists, whilst the leucocytes burrow through the walls of the blood-vessels and proceed, in much the same manner as a snail moves, to the seat of war where they join issue with their hereditary foes. The white cells' method of attack is to engulf the bacteria and digest them by means of ferments, and even should they die, as they do in countless numbers, they disintegrate and liberate their ferments which can still digest the bacteria. The unfortunate possessor of such a battle-field will find the affected area, which is termed an abscess, red, swollen, hot and tender. The blood vessels in the neighbourhood enlarge, every pulsation of the heart drives more and more blood to the part, and from the tiny vessels swarms of leucocytes can be seen hastening to the attack. The process is continuous, and should the abscess be opened a thick creamy matter, called pus, pours out. This consists of the combatants, active, dead, and dying, and serum which has been poured into the tissues to dilute the bacterial poisons. As on other battle-fields the local buildings and residents fare badly, and when the battle is won larger cells come along to clear up the debris and mend the damaged part. These cells, too, are phagocytes, and to distinguish them from the white cells of the circulating blood Metchnikoff called the former macrophages, and the latter microphages.

Victory is not always with the microphages. At times a very virulent bacterium enters the system and paralyses the defence. In such cases blood-poisoning results, and the bacteria circulating in the blood may lodge in the tissues all over the body, forming scattered abscesses, or perhaps killing their victim with poison before abscesses have time to develop. Death from a wound received during a post-mortem examination not infrequently occurs in this manner.

The white and red cells are formed in the bone-marrow, which might be likened to a dockyard in which normally mainly food-transports, the red cells, are produced with an occasional destroyer or microphage, to make good wastage. But when war breaks out, while the production of transports continues special attention is devoted to the making of destroyers, which are poured into the circulating-blood in ever increasing numbers until victory is assured. In the acute and rapidly fatal cases the body is caught napping, and this whole mechanism breaks down.

When a person has recovered from an infection, he is usually in a better position to resist a similar infection for a varying time afterwards. He is said to be immune. Now the term immune is a relative one. Everybody possesses some immunity; otherwise every time we got a cut or abrasion the wound would fester, if indeed blood-poisoning did not result. This property of immunity was said by some to be derived from the leucocytes, for did they not win the battle, whilst others held that the body-fluids possessed the immune substances. Numerous experiments have been devised in support of each of these views, but eventually Sir Almroth Wright, an Irish scientist, apparently settled the matter by demonstrating that bacteria acted on by the body-fluids became more appetising for the white cells. Moreover he showed that the more immune the person from whom the fluid was derived the greater the number of treated bacteria engulfed by the microphages.

One of the most interesting studies to which the blood can be subjected is the examination of the spectrum of its pigment. Everybody knows that if the sun's rays pass through rain-drops, the white light is split into its component colours, of which six or seven are visible to the eye, and a rainbow results. Now if white light be passed through a glass prism, a similar effect is produced. Suppose now we interpose a tube containing blood between the source of light and the prism, we find that the spectrum has been altered. Certain black bands cut off portions of the coloured beam. The position and type of these bands vary with the condition of the blood. If it be rich in oxygen, the spectrum will differ from that seen when the oxygen is removed. Passage of coal-gas through the blood will give a third spectrum, and so on. The behaviour of blood in the spectroscope is so characteristic that this method of examination forms one of the simplest and most reliable tests for its presence, although under certain conditions the spectroscope may not lead to its detection.

Another interesting property of blood may be mentioned here. We know that the summer sun transmits rays which do not produce the sensation of light on the retina and are not therefore seen in the ordinary spectrum. These rays do, however, affect a photographic plate (hence the better results got with snapshots in the summer), and their spectrum may be photographed, and as they occur beyond the violet end of the spectrum they are called the ultra-violet rays. They also lead to sunburn or bronzing due to the increased deposition of natural colouring matter in the skin. The ultra-violet rays may be obtained from other sources than the sun, the arc-lamp for example being a convenient source. Now if the skin be exposed to such a source of ultra violet rays it will become pigmented or burnt. If, however, a film of blood be smeared on the skin during the exposure the burn will not result. So too, the blood

circulating in the vessels under the skin prevents the action of the ultra-violet rays on the tissues underneath. Strangely enough one of the derivatives of the blood, if injected into an animal, makes it so sensitive to ultra-violet rays that a short exposure may lead to grave and perhaps fatal consequences.

Transfusion of blood from one individual to another is no longer regarded as anything extraordinary, and yet it is only a few years since it became a reasonably safe procedure. In older times the experiment of transfusing blood from animal to man was often tried. It was never successful, usually indeed because the blood clotted in the crude apparatus used before it could enter the veins. We now know that the blood of one species of animal is not compatible with that of another. We know, too, that this incompatibility is not limited to bloods of animals of different species, but that certain groups exist amongst animals of the same species. Thus the blood of any human being may not be transfused into another individual with impunity. It may be safe and beneficial, or it may be harmful and even fatal. Considerable attention was devoted to this subject during the World War, as it was recognised that by transfusion many lives could be saved. Assuming that the donor's blood is compatible with that of the recipient, the foreign red cells introduced carry oxygen just as well as those of the patient. If they are not compatible, they are clumped and danger arises. The donor then must be selected with care, as cases submitted to transfusion do not tolerate well the added risks of the introduction of incompatible blood into their circulation. Furthermore the donor must be healthy. It is therefore the custom at clinics in which transfusion is practised to have available a number of men whose blood has been tested previously and who are willing to give a pint of blood for a reasonable sum. At one penny per million red cells a pint of blood would be worth £12,500 !

Apart from transfusion in which results are frequently astonishingly good, the knowledge that certain blood-groups exist has been explored with a view to its utilisation in the determination of paternity. The whole procedure has been worked out on the Mendelian principle of inheritance, and is said to be of value. It must be remembered that a definite proof of paternity is not feasible, but it is believed to be possible to determine that a given child could or could not have been the offspring of certain parents. This does not imply that the blood of one member of a family is compatible with that of another.

It is only when chemical or serological study of the blood is made that one begins to realise its marvellous properties. Suppose we inject a little egg-albumin into an animal, that animal reacts by producing in its blood a body which gives a precipitate when brought into contact with egg-white. If we inoculate an animal with ox-blood, it will produce in its blood a substance which will produce a precipitate with ox-blood. If we introduce a culture of bacteria, it will develop a body which clumps these bacteria in the test-tube. And so we could go on enumerating countless substances against which the blood can develop anti-bodies. These bodies are within limits specific. The substance developed as a result of the inoculation of the poison of the diphtheria bacillus is an antidote to that poison, but not to that of the microbe causing lock-jaw. The anti-bodies developed against typhoid bacilli do not protect from dysentery. Yet there seems to be no limit to the number of anti-bodies which can be developed in the blood.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the known phenomena of the blood is its circulation, which Harvey first discovered. The left side of the heart propels it through the system, the right side of the heart drives the returning blood through the lungs, where it receives fresh oxygen and enters the left heart to resume its cycle once more. Of what use would our food be if after digestion it could

not reach the brain and bone and muscle ? In vain would we breathe fresh air into our lungs if the oxygen was not absorbed from them and distributed throughout the tissues. So, too, life would be impossible did not the blood remove the waste-products from the tissues. Thus we find the arterial blood bringing food, and the venous blood returning the products of combustion. In some respects the system resembles the arrangement of a house to which the service pipe brings clean water, and from which the drains conduct the waste. There is this difference, however, that in the dwelling-house every effort is made to prevent polluted water gaining access to the pure supply. Undoubtedly modern methods of sewage disposal have succeeded in producing an effluent which may be consumed without danger, and may be discharged into a stream without risk. In the body, on the other hand, the arterial blood is found to contain waste-products which it brings to certain organs for destruction or elimination at the same time as it supplies them with food. This arrangement is possible as long as the waste products remain at a low level, but should one of the organs concerned break down, these substances begin to accumulate in the system, and unless relief is obtained disastrous consequences ensue.

Thus we have this complex and efficient mechanism working day after day and night after night, for the body must be kept alive while its limbs are at rest, the brain must be nourished though the mental activities are suspended in sleep, the lungs must function if they are to remain efficient, the tissues must make good the wear and tear of the day, the heart must keep on pumping that it may survive. Without a continuous supply of fresh blood these processes could not go on. Is it any wonder that Goethe wrote : "Das Blut ist ein ganz besonderer Saft." Did he really know what a wonderful fluid it is ? Do we ?

W. D. O'Kelly.

CATHOLIC RURAL ACTION

A Pointer for Ireland

BY REV. JOHN KELLEHER, S.T.L.

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IN an unpretentious little volume[1] recently published in America we in Ireland may find much matter for reflections of a practical nature, some of which I propose to set forth in this article.

The burden of the message contained in the volume may be summed up in two propositions : (i) The country communities are of pivotal importance in the social and religious life of the nation ; (ii) The Church has power to influence the life and mould the character of the rural population. If these two propositions can be sustained it is evident that the Church, at least in every country where she has secured a good footing in the rural areas, has a most effective weapon for use against the ever-growing strength and multiplicity of anti-Christian forces.

The main reason for this claim of special importance for country communities is to be found in the fact that the natural increase in population is appreciably higher in the country than in the cities. "For the period of 1910-1920 the natural population increase has been calculated to be 7·6 persons per thousand for the urban and 15·2 persons per thousand for the rural districts."[2] That does not mean, however, that the actual population of the country districts has grown more rapidly than that of the cities. The contrary has been altogether the case. "From 1910 to 1920 the rural districts increased

[1] *The Church and the Country Community.* By Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, LL.D. (Macmillan. 1927. $1.25).

[2] *The Church and the Country Community,* p. 25.

by only 1,599,871 persons, while their natural increase plus three quarters of a million immigration is estimated to have been 7,850,000 persons. Thus we have a quantitative estimate of the cityward migration during the decade. It amounted to about 6,150,000 persons and constituted 45·2 per cent. of the total urban increase for the period."[3] From 1900 to 1910 the city population increased by migration from the country by 3,637,000, representing 30·7 per cent. of the entire urban increase. That suggests that a growing proportion of the increase in urban population is due to migration from the country. The upward tendency may be expected to continue at least for a considerable time, since, as the proportion of immigration from foreign countries decreases, the home country population will become the natural reservoir from which the growing urban population will be drawn. If the cities continue to grow as they have been growing up to this, while the country population remains stationary or even decreases as it may well do as a result of the attraction which city life exercises over modern taste, this natural reservoir will ere very long be able to contribute little or nothing to maintain the city population. That would involve another serious social problem.

But without looking so far ahead it is evident that a very special importance must attach to the country population as the nursery of the nation's man power. From it not only is the country population itself maintained but also to a very appreciable extent the city population also. The influence of the migrants from the country on the city population is not to be limited to the 600,000 souls or thereabouts who go every year from the country to the cities. It is a well established fact that the natural increase is notably high amongst fresh arrivals from the country, to such an extent that in an almost incredibly short period the entire city popu-

[3] Ibid., p. 26.

lation tends to be practically renovated from the country. That being so, it is not difficult to understand that the country population is of enormous importance from the point of view of the material and social well-being of the nation as a whole.

From a purely religious point of view the importance of the country population is even more striking. Abstracting from the more impressive consideration that at comparatively short intervals the city population is practically renewed from the country, and confining our attention to the simple fact that every year something between 500,000 and 1,000,000 persons pass from the country to the cities, it must be obvious that the religious complexion of the country districts tends to reflect itself in the cities and, therefore, in the nation as a whole. If, for instance, the country districts were solidly Catholic, every successive year would witness a fresh accession of strength to the Church in the cities. On the other hand if the country districts were mainly non-Catholic, the city churches would find it necessary to make a large number of conversions every year merely to maintain their relative position in the face of the relatively high proportion of non-Catholics who would be continually coming from the country.

Unfortunately from this point of view, the main strength of the Church in America is in the cities. Owing to causes which may be said to have been insuperable heretofore, the Church in the country districts of America is weak and unorganised in comparison with its position in the cities. That means that every year a disproportionately high percentage of non-Catholics come to the cities from the country districts, so that the Church in the cities labours under a severe handicap to maintain its relative position. One cannot fail to see what an immense source of strength it would be to the Church in America if she once found herself in a healthy vigorous position in the country districts. She would have got

at the natural source of the nation's life stream, and the Catholics of America would increase automatically so to speak, provided of course the Church were able to hold her own and not lose by leakage in the cities what she was gaining from the country.

That last qualification, however, reminds us that it is scarcely accurate to speak of the influence of the country population as pivotal simply. In a sense the city population is pivotal also, and perhaps in a more far reaching manner. For while there is a constant flow of men and women from the country to the cities, there is an equally constant flow of fashions and ideals from the cities to the country which may prove to be more telling in the end. For that reason it may not be a wise policy for the Church in America to diminish in any degree her activities in the cities even for the sake of attending more effectively to the country. If it has to be a choice between the cities and the country, it would seem to be the wisest policy to concentrate on the cities, and by her efficient organisation and zeal aim not only at making her position secure, but at so far improving it that before very long she may be able to exercise an effective missionary influence from the cities on the country. Obviously the only satisfactory healthy position will be when, without losing any of her prestige in the cities, she can secure a firm footing in the country districts also.

The proportion of Catholics in the country districts of America is lamentably small. Partly for that reason and partly because of the policy—no doubt the only practical policy in the circumstances—of devoting herself mainly to the cities, the Church in these districts is feeble and her influence comparatively insignificant. Yet even in America Dr. O'Hara is of opinion that the Church is capable of favourably affecting the country population. In fact his book has been written for the purpose of showing the tremendous potentialities of the country parishes, and in the hope of helping to drive home the lesson of

the necessity of a constructive programme by which these potentialities may be turned to profitable account. Of course he writes more of what may be done than of what is actually being done. What is being done, and even what it is possible to do for the present, is pathetically small compared with what may be expected when a well sustained comprehensive programme of Catholic rural action has had time to develop and bear fruit. What that may be he leaves us to infer from what the Catholic Church has been able to accomplish in the past and from what she is accomplishing to-day in various ways in different lands, whereof Dr. John A. Ryan, who is not given to reckless assertions, says in the preface: "As one reads and ponders this part of the volume, one is tempted to venture the judgment that rural parish priests have it in their power to revolutionise Catholic country life economically, culturally, and spiritually."

These words of Dr. Ryan should certainly make us Irish Priests ponder very profoundly. Is it possible that rural priests have such magnificent opportunities and that we are allowing them to slip, either because we are unconscious of them or not prepared to rise to them? No doubt the situation here is widely different from that which exists in America, but every point of difference only shows that all that has been said of America applies with vastly greater force to ourselves in Ireland.

In Ireland no less than in America the population of the cities is being constantly replenished from the country. No one, I imagine, will need statistics to convince him that such is the case. In Dublin it is said that it would be a matter for comment if in a fairly large company as many as three or four could claim to be third generation Dubliners. Not only is there a constant influx into the city from the country, but normally in the course of four or five generations the whole city population is practically renovated from the country—not necessarily from strictly rural districts, but from the country as distinct from

the capital. And what is true of Dublin is true also of our cities and large towns generally. There may be nothing very wonderful in all this; it may be natural and easy of explanation. But whatever the explanation, the fact itself has very important consequences.

Not only are our country districts the source of our man power, they are in a very unusual degree the source of our economic power as well. Nothing is more strongly and properly impressed on us than the overwhelming importance of the agricultural industry in Ireland. If, therefore, our agricultural population languishes, if it continues to decline numerically, or if it deteriorates physically, morally or industrially, the consequences must necessarily be calamitous for the nation at large. The well-being of our country is vitally dependent on the existence of a strong, virtuous and industrious country population.

In Ireland, unlike America, there is no serious question of the immediate influence of the migrants from the country on the faith of the cities and towns. The overwhelming bulk of our population both in towns and country is already Catholic, and so the influx from the country cannot materially affect the religious allegiance of the towns. Yet even in this respect the effect of the migration, although comparatively small, may be said to be appreciably to the good, inasmuch as on the whole the country has been more Catholic than the towns.

But apart from agreement in the substantial beliefs and practices of the Catholic faith, there has hitherto been an important if subtle difference between the religious equipment of the city and country population. In the country religion was simpler and more unsophisticated. In the cities it was more conscious and highly developed. The simple faith of the Catholics who came from the country reacted vigorously to the better equipped religious organisation in the cities and with altogether happy results. Humanly speaking it is to the simple, sturdy

faith of the country that the magnificent Catholicism of Ireland, although it may find its most perfect expression in towns and cities, is ultimately to be traced.

In this respect things with us are no longer as they were in the past. Although there does not appear to be any real justification for the alarming views one hears so much of at present, it can scarcely be denied that we are not what we had been. We are not necessarily worse, but we are not the same. Times are changing: our conditions and problems are changing with them. For one thing our country-sides have become more open to the influence of the neo-pagan morality which is so widely established in modern society, and that influence is making itself felt not merely in accidental matters such as fashions and amusements, but in matters of strict morality, where the ten Commandments themselves are concerned. It is always hard to speak with confidence on a subject of this nature, and we must not forget that it has been the practice of moralists in every age to bemoan the downward tendency of their own times. Because times change bringing changes of fashions and problems, and perhaps changes of prevalent vices, it is easy to rush to the conclusion that we are growing worse, when in fact we may be keeping on an equal or perhaps on slightly higher level.

But while in morals we may on the whole be no worse than those who have gone before us, and while we may be no less loyal to our faith, there is a marked difference in this that faith in the country is not the simple unsophisticated thing it was in the past, a guide to our conduct even though it was not always followed. In the past, when conduct was wrong it was recognised as wrong. The disquieting feature about the present is the growing tendency to justify what is wrong, to coolly go on professing the faith while adopting a pagan standard of morality. If that tendency were to continue, the faith itself would be gradually undermined and its very existence

threatened more seriously than by any direct assault. The Catholicity of our country would be affected with a most virulent malady at its very source. "Faith without good works is dead," and for those who come from the country to the cities as for those who remain in the country the faith would have begun to die of inanition.

That this menace does not go unperceived we have abundant evidence. If anything it would appear to be exaggerated. We constantly hear of the growing scandal of pagan morals amongst our Catholic people. But it is too much a cry of despair. One looks in vain for any well considered scheme for meeting the menace. It does not help to cry out against it, nor will it be sufficient to devote ourselves, no matter how zealously, to the purely religious side of the problem, seeing that the essence of the menace is that so much of the practical life of the people is being withdrawn from the influence of religion. The attack is not made directly against religion, and it is to be met, not so much by concentrating on religion itself, as by bringing the practical affairs of life under the influence of religion.

Here it appears to me is where our most important battle for the faith will have to be fought in the future: to secure that our faith and religious practices are not divorced from our every day life. In the words of Dr. Ryan we have a valuable suggestion as to the lines on which that battle may be undertaken. We never tire of repeating how successful the Church was in influencing and controlling every department of Christian life in other ages, and Dr. O'Hara has set before us striking instances of what she is doing in other countries to-day. Surely, one would imagine, her power should be no less evident in Ireland. When all has been said against us, the fact remains that nowhere in the world is the faith stronger or purer, or loyalty to the Church more unquestioning than in Ireland. Some of the most brilliant apologists of the Church's social doctrine and influence

have been looking to Ireland to show a true Catholic civilisation in being. If the present drift is allowed to continue, these will be grievously disappointed. To put it mildly, the Church in Ireland does not appear to be moulding the lives and characters of the people. On the contrary, culturally and morally we are being slowly revolutionised along anti-Christian lines. In great part the explanation appears to be that we, Irish priests, have not been keeping pace with our changing conditions. We have too easily allowed the secular life of the people to go its own way.

It should give us food for thought to find that the author of the book before me, a priest with the unmistakable Irish name of O'Hara, who finds so much to be admired and imitated in the secular activities of the Catholic Church in Canada, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Italy and Spain, has no reference to Ireland, except one to the evictions and another in a quotation to our glaring practice of sending excellent Irish bacon to America and importing an inferior American substitute. It does not reflect much credit on this eminently Catholic nation of ours that a sympathetic American priest, obviously on the look out for examples, can find nothing worthy of imitation amongst us.

Why we are so barren in this respect raises other considerations which may not be altogether to our discredit. Certainly the priests who have gone before us were not unmindful of the secular interests of the people, nor did they ever shrink from the trials and dangers to which the championship of these interests exposed them. But in the peculiar circumstances of our history their activities were necessarily of a nature altogether different from these which engage the attention of Dr. O'Hara. They had to face in turn the problems of Religious Liberty, Education, Land Tenure and National Independence. Preoccupation with these left them little time or inclination for other activities which are now

more in evidence in these other countries. And the force of tradition is against us. It is now a question of making a new departure, and that departure, difficult enough because it is a departure, is made more difficult still by our partial disillusionment in regard to the past. In the height of our past conflicts we were inclined to exaggerate the significance of what we were fighting for. We always more or less expected a millennium. Unconsciously we feel discouraged because success, which looked so magnificent in anticipation, proves so paltry in fruition, and so inconclusive that it appears only to introduce us to new and in their own way equally exacting struggles. And always we have had to reckon on the inevitable pessimists eager to point out that our success was a mere delusion which has left us worse than we were before.

That helps us to understand why the Irish priests of to-day have so little to show of the particular kind of secular activity which Dr. O'Hara finds so striking and so hopeful a feature in other countries. Coming after a succession of intense secular activities, we are undergoing what is not altogether an unnatural reaction. We experience a certain amount of relief that it is no longer necessary for us to continue the old struggles, and we are not inclined to look for new fields of endeavour. With such dispositions it is very easy for us to find virtuous motives for withdrawing more and more from secular activities—devoting our attention solely to matters which are purely religious or intimately connected with religion. We are perhaps too quick to seize on what appears to us to be the excessive secular zeal of our predecessors, and to pride ourselves on a more enlightened prudence. We must not forget that these very secular activities, notwithstanding occasional abuses, did what perhaps no other means could do to unite the priests and people and to preserve the Catholic religion in Ireland in spite of an unparalleled series of determined attempts to suppress it.

The reasons which go to show that priests should

take an active interest in the secular concerns of their people appear overwhelming and unanswerable. They follow from the very nature of religion itself, and are confirmed by the history of the Church from her emergence from the catacombs down to our own time. The natural and supernatural in man cannot be shut up in watertight compartments. No more can we separate the soul from the body nor living faith from morals. True religion must penetrate into all our conduct and relationships. To me it appears that it is only the active intervention of the priests that can maintain this necessary connection between religion and man's secular life, and I am strengthened in this conviction by the consistent action of the Church. Dr. O'Hara has an eloquent passage from Cardinal Newman apropos of the happy effects of the secular activities of the early monastic orders; considerations of space alone prevent me from quoting it. But what we see before our eyes to-day speaks even more eloquently to the same effect. Most of our religious orders devote themselves to works of corporal mercy and to education in subjects which sometimes appear mainly secular.

If ever there was a demand for the secular activities of priests, it would appear to be in Ireland at the present time, when the spirit of the world with all its unchristian principles and ideals is invading so much of the practical life of Catholics. The greater the number of departments of life which are being brought away from the sphere of the Church's influence, the greater would appear to be the necessity that the Church should follow these and try to re-establish her influence in them. If they do not come to the Church, the Church must find means of coming to them.

As has been stated already, Ireland's rural population is ultimately the source of Ireland's manhood and material wealth. It is, therefore, a matter of grave concern for us as a nation to see our country-sides gradually depopu-

lated, so that one would be almost inclined to fear that we are been driven by some unconscious impulse towards our destruction as a distinctive people. Many causes combine to account for this regrettable tendency. But amongst them all one cause is outstanding. It is the lack of adequate facilities for the social and cultural sides of life in the country. People must have a normal amount of social intercourse, with games, recreations and entertainments in sufficient measure to enable them to feel that they are living members of some community. Owing in great measure to their decreasing numbers country people are rapidly ceasing to provide their own social life and are growing more eager to escape from a dreary isolated existence.

Dr. O'Hara is of opinion that this disadvantage is in great part eliminated by the growth in the use of daily papers, motor cars, radio, and motion pictures. With us at any rate these things do much more to intensify the evil than to diminish it. They bring the country people in touch with social life or what is supposed to be social life elsewhere, and so naturally increase their discontent with the comparatively drab and isolated conditions at home. The healthy enterprising youth of the country cannot be expected to be content to read about life in the newspapers, to hear of it through the radio, or even to see it in the pictures. They want to share the life themselves, and so the lure of the great outside world grows stronger. Priests more than any others in Ireland have opportunities for coping with this source of national weakness. The parish is still the recognised unit of social life. All through the country the parochial church is the one great centre where all can meet on equal terms and with community of interests. With it are associated all the really community activities which still remain in the country districts. In all these the influence of the priest is supreme, and there appears no reason why he should not try to develop this community feeling still

more. He could help to promote parish games, social gatherings and entertainments, everything in fact which goes to make up the full social life of a community. The success which attends these activities on the rare occasions when they are exercised to raise money for religious and charitable purposes makes one wonder why their possibilities for purposes wider and higher than money-getting are not more generally appreciated. Nothing very elaborate need be attempted at the beginning. For the very natural reason that they could take part in them themselves, people would find these parish games and entertainments more healthy and enjoyable than to be mere spectators at the most elaborate contests and shows. Even their own donkey races would be more satisfying in the end than reading about the Derby, seeing it in the pictures, or backing their fancy.

But of course it is in the moral and spiritual effects that the priests themselves will be most interested, and these although indirect will be more than adequate to compensate them for the time and labour they may expend in helping to build up the social life in the country. To a great extent it is to the lack of facilities for healthy social life that the lamentable divorce between religion and conduct may be traced. When these facilities are not available, the people find in an undirected blundering way their own substitutes, with the result that betting, immodest dances, dangerous company keeping, disorderly clubs, and sexual immorality threaten to corrupt the youthful life of the country. Taking human nature as it is, it will be extremely difficult to devise effective correctives for moral maladies until life in the country is organised to provide adequately and in accordance with Christian principles for the satisfaction of man's impelling instinct for social intercourse and enjoyment.

The cultural side of life in the country also supplies a large field for the secular activity of Irish priests. Apart from the schools and instruction given in the churches,

the cultural life of the country, such as it is, is absolutely unaffected by religion. The formative influences on the people in this respect are mainly books and newspapers from England, motion pictures, and radio lectures. It is certainly not fitting that these should be the sole or principal mental food of Irish Catholics. We are all sensible of the danger from newspapers and pictures, but to me it seems that, for the limited number affected, the danger from the radio is more to be dreaded. In the most innocent manner in the world and with perfectly open minds uneducated people imbibe the substance of unchristian philosophy. Sir Oliver Lodge, for instance, speaks as an acknowledged master on the subject of ether and the constitution of matter, and then passes imperceptibly to speak as a prophet of Pantheism. But in the case of all three—the papers, the pictures and the radio—their evil influence counts not so much in anything positively anti-Christian or anti-Catholic as in the calm, matter of fact way they ignore religion, creating the impression that religion is not one of the great things in life, that in fact life may be very complete and attractive without it. Yet these things need not be condemned absolutely. If we had our own clear, well-informed Catholic outlook, they might prove useful occasionally as means of entertainment or even of instruction.

Recently the Commission on Technical Education issued a most important Report, with practical recommendations which, if put into operation and fully availed of, are calculated to have far-reaching effect on the cultural life of rural Ireland. If the priests take a prominent part in promoting the Continuation Classes, they can see to it that religious and moral education shall be adequately catered for in this scheme for the much needed advancement of general education. On the contrary, if they hold aloof, a great opportunity may be lost, and our new state may turn out worse than the old. For if the literary and technical education of the general

community be advanced without a corresponding advance in their religious education, religion will be pushed further to the background in the practical affairs of life. Useful work of a similar nature might be done by priests in connection with rural libraries, literary and study clubs, etc.

Finally, the economic side of rural life in Ireland affords innumerable opportunities for the helpful intervention of priests. In a quiet constructive way, and without involving themselves in class controversies, they can do a great deal to improve our unhappy economic conditions. It has been truly said that our economic problems are in great part problems of psychology, and no one is so favourably situated as the priest to influence the psychological conditions of the Catholics of rural Ireland. They can help to promote a spirit of unity and co-operation between the different classes and within the classes themselves. They can do something to curb the baneful spirit of discontent and suspicion, and to encourage a manly spirit of self-reliance and a determination to make the best of hard conditions. In various ways—by advice, encouragement and active assistance—they can forward practical schemes wherever these are likely to make for the benefit of the class immediately concerned and of the community in general. At all times they can champion the neglected claims of justice, equity and fraternal charity.

All this would entail large but not (I think) impossible or unreasonable demands on the time and labour of priests. What would be chiefly required of them would be patronage, advice and encouragement, combined occasionally with initiative and organising ability. Granted these things on their own part, they could confidently count on abundant co-operation from lay people who are at present holding aloof or through lack of proper direction are embarking on enterprises which do no good and are sometimes positively injurious to the highest

spiritual and material interests of the country. In reality they would be merely giving a slightly different direction to their present labours. Instead of spending themselves entirely on the nerve-racking and often unprofitable task of attacking recurring sins and scandals, they might find it pleasanter and more satisfactory to devote some of their energy to the source of the malady, and help to reform the unhealthy conditions from which these evils flow. It may prove easier in the end to provide safe, well-conducted halls for social entertainment and enjoyment than to prevent sinful company-keeping amongst young people who can find no facilities for legitimate recreation.

Instances of possible secular action have been given merely as specimens to show the large and varied opportunities which are open to Irish priests. They are in no way intended as a programme of Catholic Rural Action in this country. Later on some such programme may be called for, but the time is not yet. Until there is some machinery in being to give it effect, a programme is scarcely worth the paper it is written on. What we need at present is a general recognition of the importance of secular action and of the necessity for co-operation and organisation amongst priests in order that they may be able to take such action effectively. We often wonder why we are not better organised in this respect; why, for instance, we have nothing to compare with the Boerenbond in Belgium, the Peasants' League in Holland, or even the Catholic Rural Life Conference in America. There seems no adequate reason why we should not be as well organised as other countries less favourably circumstanced than ourselves. And really there is none except this, that they are using the opportunities they have while we are neglecting ours. After all we cannot expect that organisation will come to us spontaneously from above; if we want organisation, the one way to get it is to begin to organise. J. KELLEHER.

THE RATIONALIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY

BY PADRAIC COLUM

The Rise of American Civilization. By Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard. Two volumes. London: Jonathan Cape. 1927. 50s.

THE interpretation of American history that is offered in these two imposing volumes is severely economic. To Professor and Mrs. Beard, American history falls into two distinct epochs, the agricultural and the industrial, and they are able to devote a volume of exactly the same length to each of these eras. The heroic happenings which seem to us to make up nearly the whole of American history are viewed by the writers as episodes conditioned by the dominant economy of the period: what we used to think of as the War of Independence appears as an episode in the Agricultural Era—an episode proceeding from "the clash of Metropolis and Colony"; what we used to think of as the Civil War is mentioned as the Second American Revolution and is treated as a crisis in the Industrial Era. The view of American history that is unfolded is, to my mind, very one-sided; it also has the disadvantage of taking the stir and colour out of the historical narrative. It is purely a rationalization. However, it is a rationalization of American history that puts the reader in possession of certain areas of fact that are highly significant.

The history of what we now call the United States begins with the formation of certain English companies or corporations. They were strictly for profit. Professor and Mrs. Beard note that when the time came for the English to plant settlements in America, it was

not necessary for any group to beg a pittance from the royal treasury. The middle classes furnished the leadership and the money—merchant-tailors, stationers, shoemakers, haberdashers, grocers, ironmongers, cutlers, leather sellers, weavers, carpenters, and such like. The corporation that was to plant a settlement in America had its stock advertised in the pulpit and in the marketplace. And when the settlement had been made effective, the commercial corporation became a kind of autonomous state. "Like the state, it could endure indefinitely—as long as its charter lasted; its members might die, but, by the continuous election of successors, the corporation went on. Like the state, it had a constitution, a charter issued by the Crown, which formed a superior law binding constituents and officers." (Vol. 1, page 36-37). The corporation planted in the New World had a territorial basis—a grant of land often greater in area than a score of European principalities. It began as a little democracy, for its stockholders admitted new members to the suffrage, elected their own officers, and made bye-laws. "Moreover, that other great arm of the English state, the Church, usually formed an integral part of these corporate enterprises."

But although they were commercial corporations that planted and ruled the early settlements in America, the communities planted were agricultural ones. Soon they turned their faces towards where there was cheap land and a rude but sufficient comfort—they turned towards the frontier. A new psychology was thereupon evoked, for "nothing in their lives made them a part of the system of class rule and privilege that constituted the government of England in the eighteenth century." We cannot understand the sudden organization of revolutionary power in America unless we are aware of the fact which Professor and Mrs. Beard so justly underline, the fact that the local assemblies, which were originally the corporations, exercised the right of levying taxes, raising

troops, incurring debts, issuing currency, fixing the salaries of royal officers, and appointing agents to represent them in their dealings with the government in London—all this although they had a royal governor. Long before the revolution, the local communities in America possessed a ruling class experienced in the art of government and commanding resources of magnitude. At the time of the approach of the revolution the colonies needed only two things to transform them into independent states—a mastery of the art of warfare and the capacity to co-operate on a continental scale. "The American ruling classes, unlike the French bourgeoisie, had already wrested the government from the royal authorities by 1765; their uprising was designed to preserve what they had, rather than to gain something new and untried." (Vol. 1, page 187).

Six years before George III. came to the throne, Benjamin Franklin was forcing his countrymen to see an economic conflict in the relations between the Colonies and Great Britain. The Americans bore a large share of English taxes in the form of enhanced prices for English goods thrust upon them by monopolistic laws. Acts of Parliament forbidding Americans to make certain commodities forced them to purchase such goods in England, thus pouring more tribute into the English chest, while statutes restraining their trade with foreign countries compelled them to buy dearer commodities in England. Americans were not allowed to stop the importation and consumption of English "superfluities," and for that reason their "whole wealth centres finally among the merchants and inhabitants of Britain." Then there were the royal governors, who often came to America merely to make their fortunes, and the royal officers in the provinces, who were generally men of small means subservient to the governors who kept them up—all taking toll out of the resources of the Colonies.

The machinery for the revolution had only to be

assembled; it did not have to be manufactured. The Continental Congress which sat in Philadelphia was the assembling of that machinery. It had come together when the body representing Massachusetts invited the bodies representing the rest of the Colonies to send delegates to a Congress that could promote Continental action. The Congress took action immediately: it resolved to halt the importation of British goods until its demands were conceded. Local Committees were formed to enforce the decree; the resistance became military when Gage, the British general, decided to seize the American supplies. At Lexington the British soldiers met the American militia, and war began.

Of the Congress that was supposed to organize the war and steer the Colonies towards independence, Professor and Mrs. Beard says:—

> Nor were the proceedings of the Congress especially dramatic. Usually there were not more than twenty or thirty members in attendance; and in such an assembly the stormy eloquence of a Marat would have been comic. Although the lawyers present consumed weeks and months in displaying their logical capacities, the Congress was, on the whole, more like a village debating society than the Convention which carried France through the Reign of Terror. Moreover, it met in the little town of Philadelphia, with its twenty thousand inhabitants dominated by Quakers, not in a Paris crowded by half a million people—soldiers, priests, noblemen, merchants, artisans, raging Amazons, and passionate radicals. When, in the sultry days of 1776, it discussed the Declaration of Independence, no throngs pressed into the galleries to intimidate the wavering, no tumultous mob stormed the doors clamouring for a decision. As a rule its transactions had the air of timidity and negotiation instead of resolution and mastery, disputes, vacillation, and delays marking its operations from session to session. (Vol. 1, 234).

The machinery for revolution was there, but the Congress had no administrative machinery; everything that belonged to their Continental programme had to be improvised—a government, a treasury, an army, even a book-keeping system, and agencies for buying supplies.

The surprising thing was that the Congress ever agreed to entrust what armed forces it had to the command of a single general. Washington was chosen, a man nobly fitted for the task, but the choice was part of a political deal. Meanwhile decisions were being made outside Congress, outside the military camp: the man who did most to bring about the separation of America from England was not a soldier, was not a member of Congress; he was a pamphleteer, and his name was Thomas Paine. A hundred thousand copies of Paine's "Commonsense" gave heart to the timid and quickened the intrepid to action. Then came the Declaration of Independence. The King's statue was pulled down in New York, and in Rhode Island it was provided that anyone guilty of praying for His Majesty should be liable to a fine of a thousand pounds.

Outside intervention brought about American independence. How sparse the American military forces were are shown by such facts as these: thirty or forty thousand privates, out of a population of three million people, were kept in the field only by the most heroic efforts. It was necessary to make generous grants of money and land to entice men into the service. Certain states enlisted free negroes in substantial numbers and enrolled slaves who had been freed on condition that they enter the army.

And what, after all, in human terms, was the result of the American Revolution? Professor and Mrs. Beard present us with this summary of benefits:—

> Indeed, in nearly every branch of enlightened activity, in every sphere of liberal thought, the American Revolution marked the opening of a new humane epoch. Slavery, of course, afforded a glaring contrast to the grand doctrines of the Revolution, but still it must be noted that Jefferson and his friends were painfully aware of the anachronism; that Virginia prohibited the slave trade in 1778—a measure which the British Crown had vetoed twenty years before; that a movement for the abolition of slavery appeared among the new social forces of the age; and

that it was the lofty doctrines of the Revolution which were invoked by Lincoln when in the fullness of time chattel bondage was to be finally broken. If a balance sheet is struck and the rhetoric of the Fourth of July celebrations is discounted, if the externals of the conflict are given a proper perspective in the background, then it is seen that the American Revolution was more than a war on England. It was in truth an economic, social, and intellectual transformation of prime significance—the first of those modern world-shaking reconstructions in which mankind has sought to cut and fashion the tough and stubborn web of fact to fit the pattern of its dreams (Vol. 1, page 296).

The making of the Constitution followed the achievement of independence. Professor and Mrs. Beard are at their best, both as investigators and writers, when they interpret this Constitution and tell how it came into being. The Convention that drafted it was held behind closed doors. In its essentials the Constitution was a treaty between the States—between the States whose interests were predominantly commercial and the States whose interests were predominantly of the plantation. The treaty was kept in being by adjustments and compromises for fifty years—just long enough to tie the states together in some fashion—and then the growth of the manufacturing interests in the North-east went beyond any compromise that could be made; the secession of the planting states led to what Professor and Mrs. Beard speak of as the Second American Revolution.

The epic of American history is in the conquest of the Wilderness that stretched out from the Atlantic-bordering Colonies to the Pacific Ocean. Of this conquest Professor and Mrs. Beard write fully and enthusiastically. They see it as being fulfilled in three periods. The first period was marked by the advance towards the Mississippi. "The nine states created between the old colonies and the Mississippi River contained a dominion greater than the combined area of Great Britain, Germany and Italy with the Netherlands and Belgium added for good measure. In the Northwest Territory alone, either

France or Germany could be comfortably fitted with room to spare." Arising out of this advance and settlement came the farmer-labour union: it was formed in opposition to the commercial and business interests of the North-east, and its spokesman was the rough-neck Andrew Jackson. It was this Jacksonian democracy that brought about the next crisis in American political affairs: it held down tariffs, it cut off bounties to manufacturers, it disrupted the centralised banking-system.

The movement towards the Pacific marked the second period of the conquest: it was to tear Texas and California from Mexico and lead to a struggle with the British over Oregon. The winning of these three States seemed to have secured for the planting and agricultural interests an indefinite predominance. And that predominance would have been secured were it not for the fact that invention was becoming rife: the epoch that brought Texas and California into the Union was also the epoch in which inventions were being applied to industry. "Fulton put the steam-engine into the ship and opened a new era of navigation; Howe created the sewing-machine; McCormick and Hussey by giving the reaper to the farmer made obsolete at one blow the sickle and scythe that had come down from days beyond Tut-ankhamen; Morse, with his telegraph, spanned the continent, bringing round one table the business transactions of a whole nation; Whitney's cotton gin smashed an old economy created in the childhood of the race." In the North-east the captains of industry were able to take hold of all these inventions and create a power that balanced and soon tended to over-balance the planting and agricultural interests, even with their new accessions in territory. "If many a planter could boast of a thousand slaves, many a captain of industry could pride himself on his thousand free labourers. On down the scale ran parallel the structures of the two economies,

ending at the petty boss with two or three apprentices and the master with two or three slaves." (Vol. I., page 634).

But invention and capital were to make the North-east and its industrial interest predominant. The railways and the telegraph were tying the far Western settlements, not to the South but to the North-east. The South was becoming isolated. Then it was found that the old compromises could hardly be renewed. The "irrepressible conflict" stands out in Professor and Mrs. Beard's interpretation, not as a question of slavery against humanitarian sentiment, not as a question of State Rights against an encroaching Federal power, but as a question of tariffs and currency and banking. The North-east needed high tariffs, bounties, a centralized banking system, a standardised currency. The South regarded tariffs as tolls collected from them, and they looked upon bounties, centralised banking, and a standardised currency as devices intended to give predominance to Yankee hucksters. In the Spring of 1861, fifty years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, came the Second American Revolution.

After the Second American Revolution comes the third attempt upon the wilderness which, a huge territorial spoil, lay beyond the outpost states of the Mississippi. "In superficial area this magnificent domain was almost equal to all the states in the Union combined." More than half was arid plain and broken land, but—

> If in the dry and hilly regions, the offerings of this territory to the farmer were rather niggardly, the same could not be said of the booty presented to miners, cattle barons, and lumber kings. Hidden under the mountains and the wild wastes were gold and silver surpassing in bulk the wildest dreams of the Spanish conquerors of the sixteenth century; even transcending the fancies of the medieval alchemists who sought a magic way to transform baser into finer metals. Here were copper deposits wide and deep and rich. Here were pasture lands for flocks and herds vaster than any assembled on the deserts and steppes of the Old World.

Here was a supply of timber to fill the gap caused by the disappearing forests in the settled sections of the country. Here were ranges of climate cold enough to make the Scandinavian feel at home and warm enough to attract Orientals whose original habitat lay under the mild skies of the South Seas. And the western shores looked out upon the Pacific to fabled Cathay, to realms of mystery and unknown potentiality (Vol. 2, page 123).

This last great movement upon the wilderness is, *par excellence*, the epic of American history. Professor and Mrs. Beard note the psychic effect that it had upon the people of America. These torrential rushes to the mineral fields, to the rich arable lands, to the luxuriant timber resources produced varied social groupings unlike those left in the wake of the advance into the Mississippi Valley. Novel modes of conduct were evolved. "Throughout immense areas, where the population was thin and the yoke of law sat lightly on every shoulder, the primitive instincts of an adventurous people, tinged with anarchy, found free play. . . . In the frenzy of speculation let loose by miners and prospectors and in the swift acquisition of fortunes effected by the hurried partition of the federal domain, the construction of railways, and the opening of new mineral deposits, breaking all precedents, the whole continent was agitated from axis to periphery." (Vol. II., page 126).

It was this last great movement upon the wilderness that gave romance and colour to America for two generations of European boys. Out of this epoch rode Buffalo Bill, Wild Bill and Deadwood Dick; the movement opened up the Wild West with its stagecoach robberies and daring pony-express riders, with its Indian fighters and its riches suddenly and picturesquely acquired. What a pity it is that those who actually went into the wilderness then were too literate, too sophisticated, too hurried in their movement to make folk-lore or epic out of the material that was presented to them there. Immediately afterwards great business enterprises came to the fore, and the figures of Morgan, Harriman, Hill,

Rockefeller, Carnegie began to dominate the American scene and to dominate in the consciousness of the American people. Railroads now became the great interest, and the national problem was envisaged as the unification of the vast country through the railroads. Morgan, in the space of seventeen years, gathered under his control thirteen systems having a mileage of 45,000 and a capital of three billion dollars. " With the same volcanic energy and feudal ruthlessness Harriman united thousands of miles under his sovereignty and was in a fair way to encircle the globe when death overcame him. He made his most daring stroke in combining the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific—more than fifteen thousand miles—and he had his eyes on Siberia when the long shadows closed upon him." (Vol. II., page 193).

It all led to the closing of the frontier in America, ending the era of free land for the adventurous. With the closing of the frontier has come a revolution in agriculture. " The army of untrained and wasteful farmers who had prospered by raising huge crops on virgin soil, in spite of their methods, could never again take refuge from themselves by leaving the exhausted lands of their first settlements for new sections of the West." (Vol II., page 271). Machinery was forced upon the American farmer. And the handling of machinery created a necessity for capital :—

> Formerly agricultural implements were simple and cheap, often home-made; for a thousand years the heavy hoe had served the Italian peasant; the ax, hoe, plow, and scythe had met most of the needs of the American farmer for two centuries. Then suddenly the bewildering variety of novel and expensive machinery was pressed upon him. He was urged to lay aside his scythe and cradle, which cost but a few dollars and lasted a lifetime, to buy in its place a self-binder which cost twenty times as much, was in need of constant repair, and wore out in three or four years of hard usage, even if not left out in the rain and snow to rust and rot, as it often was. And as a matter of fact the farmer had no choice. The price of his grain in the market

being fixed by the cost of production on the most fertile and best-equipped farms, he was compelled to buy machinery or to work for somebody who could, just as the handicraftsman had been at the start of the industrial revolution. Consequently the value of farm implements and machines per acre of land almost doubled between 1890 and 1910. (Vol 2, page 273).

Contemporary American farming is capitalistic. America which at one time nearly achieved the ideal of Jefferson, the ideal of a continent divided into single farm units and worked by the owner and his family, people of North European stock—owing no rent nor tribute to any man—has even its farms now industrialised. The balance between country and town which existed in the younger days of the American elders has been broken down in our time. Walt Whitman's poetry, which has, even while it deals with the metropolis, a consciousness of the wilderness and farms tilled by families, has a note of foreignness when read in the America of to-day. Urbanisation is spreading, and with urbanisation a standardisation in appearance, manners and thoughts. America has come of age; she has peopled her wilderness and closed her frontier, and has served notice on the world that she is going to limit immigration; and the candidature of Alfred Smith, son of immigrant parents, is a sign that a leadership arising out of urban and recently arrived groups is about to appear in America. Professor and Mrs. Beard leave the United States in the Machine Age, with this article of faith in the age:

> A faith in the efficacy of that new and mysterious instrument of the modern mind, "the invention of invention," moving from one technological triumph to another, overcoming the exhaustion of crude natural resources and energies, effecting an ever wider distribution of the blessings of civilization—health, security, material goods, knowledge, leisure, and aesthetic appreciation, and through the cumulative forces of intellectual and artistic reactions conjuring from the vasty deeps of the nameless and unknown creative imagination the noblest order, subduing physical things to the empire of the spirit—doubting not the

capacity of the Power that had summoned into being all patterns of the past and present, living and dead, to fulfil its endless destiny.

So ends a book which, in spite of the fact that it opens up a great vista in American history, is laborious reading. Now it is obvious that the writers have tried to make it easy—even picturesque—reading, as is shown by their effort to translate political and economic data into familiar terms. But they have kept us on a level, and we get tired of the level and feel that it is hard going for us. "All readable history is melodrama," says Hilaire Belloc, and the writers of *The Rise of American Civilisation* let us in for no melodrama.

But the reason why these volumes make laborious reading probably lies deeper than in a refusal on the part of the writers to create dramatic situations or to express strong sentiments with regard to the characters they deal with. All history is, no doubt, a rationalisation—events that were unexpected and startling in their occurrence are made orderly and intelligible in relating them. *The Rise of American Civilisation* is a rationalisation by a pair of rationalists, and is so orderly and so intelligible that there is very little in it to wake us up or lead us on. Then the manner of writing is pure artifice: it is the adoption, by trained and discriminating writers, of that method of writing that is used in books on history, philosophy, and science which are intended to sell by the ten thousand—that purely literate, unidiomatic style that may fitly be described as anonymous. This particular style in this particular book is a misfit; these sentences and paragraphs, with their shop-finish, do not go with a work of investigation and exposition.

The present reviewer cannot counter the thesis set up by Professor and Mrs. Beard—the thesis that the play of economic forces accounts for the whole of American history, as it accounts for the whole of the history of any other country. He is not well enough equipped to that.

But he notes with a certain exhilaration that there are times when even these unbending realists admit that ideas, when the moment comes that permits of their passionate statement, can have as much effect as an economic fact. What other meaning can we take out of this statement with reference to the currency of John Locke's ideas in the colonies just prior to the Revolution : " In the highways and bye-ways, this familiar sentiment gathered from the writings of John Locke gradually became the chief topic of conversation and debate. From the thought it was but a step to action, and events were daily, hourly, hastening the movement. War was at hand." Does this not mean that Locke's ideas had the effect of focusing opinion upon certain ends prior to the Revolution ? Without this focusing, without these ideas, discontent and rebellion arising out of ecomomic difficulties might not have eventuated in Revolution. And then there was the intervention of that man of ideas, Thomas Paine. " Paine boldly challenged the King, the British Constitution, and the policies of the British Government." The hundred thousand copies of his pamphlet circulated to the uttermost parts gave a unifying and inspiring idea to the struggle. If Professor and Mrs. Beard had noted more often how ideas can work on the brute facts of economics, and how the brute facts of economics are often transformed into ideas, they would have written a book which would be less on a level, less of an effort to read than *The Rise of American Civilisation.*

PADRAIC COLUM.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

VII.

TO SÍLE.

Some Connaught lady, Síle daughter of Eamonn, had found fault with the historical knowledge of the poet, Tadhg Mac Dáire. This poem is his answer. There is not enough information given to identify the lady or the Mac Uilliam of v. 26.

Tadhg Mac Dáire cct.

1. Do b'fearr mo feacna a Síle
fiú ar féachar d'iúl t'fein-line
a thoigh náir céim-iodhan chorr
nar cáir éilioghadh orom.

2. Dom dheardhadh-fa a dhreach málla
fuair tú nó ar tí teaghmála
ceird ceilghe nar dhiamair dún
nó ir d'iarraidh m'feirge d'fadúdh.

3. Nardh fiú liom labhra corrach
tugh mé ar t'aghaidh urromach
re hucht coirdighe a cúl rlim
ir rún oirdhirc im inntinn.

4. Do bádar adhbair eile
liom dhor fa dheicht céilleidhe
rinn éadána ar t'fadhra mall
damhna t'éagcára d'fulangh

5. Nior cuir mé i n-ionghna orruidh
cuid eile dom adhbhruidh
gan dheicht fortuill i dhroghluim
dod dhreic foilt-thuim adhra-mhuill.

6. Ni[tú] ar chonntach a chiadh lagh
'n-a dhruil d'aineolar orad
a chinn riodh dhoigh-innre dhreagh
dhiodh ar t'oidhbh-re a aithbear.

7. [Céillidh t'aiteamh] a folt tiodh
féadhuinn orgailte t'aighneadh
lucht foghluimte acht nach fuair fidh
a ghruadh donn-ghair-te dhillidh.

8. Do fhaighfeadh feimhe m'aigneadh
meire a bhair-réidh bhádhaidh-gheal
nach mealltair go hollamh ionn
i gceardchaibh ollamh Éirionn.

9. Dámadh ionann mar nach eadh
oidear dúinn a dhreach ailghean
ná hionghantaigh a chiabh cham
go mbiadh t'iomarcaidh agam.

10. Dall cách i gceirdh ar oile
cur fiom a forgh fearbcoidhe
i gcroiniceacht níor chéim dhuit
a fhéimh fuighil-chearr ordhruic.

11. Ní hionann sinne is fidh fein
ní chuirfinn a chruit foiléir
geall ar ghniomh fíoghnamhuil fuidh
do dhiol d'fhior-mhodhuibh ionnuidh.

12. Níor b'fhior a inghean Éamuinn
dámadh fhior ní aibéarfuinn
fed dhreic feing mbáin-leadhair mbinn
go mbeinn d'airdeanaidh inghill.

13. Ní hinghill ní hiongna liom
leat meire ar máille gcéimeann
ná ar glór mín i n-uair annuimh
ná ar fuaim fídh do fhaor-chlannuibh

14. Ná ar dhaaraibh mórda mionca
ná ar foirdine aighionta
ná ar chruit chaomh donn-bán bandha
ná ar comhradh fhaor fheaghanda.

15. Ní mar sin duit-se a deasc mall
do sinnis d'éagcóir oram
cus gill ['n-ar] brosglaim-ne fén
linn mar fosglainne aibéil.

16. Do beanais nios beanta duit
a bain-ceann críce Cormuic
beit réid ní héadóig uime
béim san éagcóir oruinne.

17. Feisde an fún do sinne sinn
damad áil liom nac léigfinn
leo cnear nglain-sigin ngéag dtrom
méad bar n-aindligid orom.

18. Ar son nar b'fíor a rád suib
ní bud iomnár let agaid
clár finn-leargan do gruaid ngeal
d'imdeargad uaim do b'éidear.

19. Do gealfad mé an malaid nduib
's do déanainn dub 'n-a deagaid
do caob cnear-aolta mar cailc
do caob m'earaonta d'adaint.

20. Na suirg gorma ar gné an oigrid
do deargfuinn iad d'forfoiglib
griorad t'aigte act nar dual dam
['s do] gruad gair-te do gormad.

21. Gan crice m'feirge d'fiucad
fá ndearnais orm d'éiliucad
dod céib barr-úr-dair faor fing
do caob andúccair fuilgim.

22. Gaot liom nac do mnáib Muimneac
tura a banda bionn-fuigleac
fead do baoglaigte im buain suinn
a gruaid faor-gair-te féaguinn.

23. Dámad d'Íb Briain do bapp flim
ní fuigtea a n-uapair d'uipprim
nó d'Íb Captaig Cuain Innre
martain uaim don fuirinn-re.

24. Fuil Coillad fad cnear mar tuinn
lá na feirge dá brearuinn
nó fuil maitmeac caoin ó gCair
dob aitreac daoib a ndeapnair.

25. Duac mac Briain do beit umad
ód cuala a cúl bacul-lag
an aicmei-re fad gnúir gluin
bud cúir m'aintreire oruib.

26. Breiteam córiac Clár na Niall
go braice mé Mac Uilliam
ní am agaid ar cóir a dul
cóir im falaid ní iarrob.

Do b'fearr.

Translation

1. It had been better to leave me alone, O Síle; my knowledge of your ancestry was such that I should not have been challenged on it, O smooth, modest, guileless foot.

2. 'Twas to test or attack or anger me that thou, O gentle face, didst ask me that guileful question—no puzzling one for me.

3. My not caring for rough controversy made me indulgent to thee, O graceful curls, spite of our being allied (?) and the impulse in my heart to revile thee.

4. There were other reasons, too, for my restraint; my respect for thy noble brow made me bear with thy injustice.

5. I was not surprised—this was another of my reasons—that thy heavy-haired noble-browed head was weak in lore.

6. Thou art not to blame for thy ignorance; let thy teachers bear the blame, O waving hair, princess of the fairy mounds of the Breagha's soft Isle.

7. Sensible is thy speech, vigorous and frank thy judgment, but thou hast not known learned men, O thick hair and bright brown graceful cheek.

8. I was trained in the smithies of Eire's sages; that has perfected my mind so that I do not easily make blunders, O smooth hand and fair bosom.

9. Think it not strange, O gentle eye, that, even if we had—as we have not—the same knowledge, I should have a superiority over thee.

10. Everyone is blind in his neighbour's art; 'twas foolish of thee to strive with me in history, O hawk-eye, gentle, fair-spoken, renowned lady.

11. We are different from each other, O fair form ; I could not compete with thee in any queenly deed which would match thy fair manners.

12. It would not be true, O daughter of Eamonn,—even if it were I would not say it—that I could rival in qualities thy shapely, fair, delicate, sweet face.

13. I am unequal to thee—naturally—in majesty of gait, in gentle rare-spoken voice ; in reconciling nobles ;

14. in giving many goodly gifts, in natural prudence, in fair white-footed queenly form, in noble weighty speech.

15. Thy conduct to me was different (from mine to thee), O soft eye ; thou hast, unjustly to me, challenged my lore, a dangerous lake as thou now learnest.

16. Thou hast struck at me—thou shouldst not have done so—an unfair blow O princess of Cormac's Land ; but reconcilement is to be hoped for.

17. Good was the resolve I had made, that, even if I felt inclined to do so, I would not let thy fair stately full-limbed form go unpunished for thy great injustice to me.

18. Though it might not have been right to say aught to thee to shame thy face, I could have reddened the fair skin of thy bright cheeks.

19. I could have whitened thy dark eye-brow, and then have blackened thy lime-white skin owing to my anger being enkindled.

20. By my words I could have reddened thy ice-blue eyes, but I liked not to burn thy face and disfigure thy bright cheek.

21. I suffer thy challenge of me and I let not the flame of my anger burn, only because thou art of a foreign race, O noble graceful soft fresh hair.

22. When thou didst venture to attack me, I was sorry thou wert not a woman of Mumha, O sweet-voiced gentle lady, bright noble majestic cheek.

23. Had thy graceful head belonged to the Í Bhriain or the Í Charthaigh of Cuan Innse—all hail to that stock !—thou wouldst not have been so gently treated.

24. When I was in wrath, had I learned that the Collas' blood flowed neath thy skin or the tender noble blood of Í Chais, thou wouldst have rued thy deed.

25. But when I heard, O soft-tressed hair, that Duach son of Brian was thy ancestor his blood in thy noble face caused my gentleness to thee.

26. May Mac Uilliam, just judge of the Nialls' Plain, look with favour on me ; he has no cause to attack me ; I shall not be asking pardon for a crime.

Notes

Except for the readings noted below the text is that of the only MS. (R. I. A. 23, L 17, p. 130) in which the poem occurs.

2d nó ar. *3c* Meaning of coiṁdiġe uncertain. Read caiṁdiġe : aiṁḃire ? *Cf.* K. M. *Contr.* cairdech. *d* ar n. *5b* ḋom. *d* ḋoḃ. *6a* ní ar. *d* aitḟear. *7a* céillid haitiar. *b* forṡailc. *c* foṡlama. *d* -ṡarṫa ḋilliġ. Meaning of ḋilleaċ uncertain, *cf. Tadhg Dall's Poems.* *9c* na hiongantа a. *d* hiomarca. *10d* foiġilceaṁc. *12d* ḋaiṁġeanaiḃ. *13c* Or perhaps anduiḃ "in dark hour" ? *14b* naiġ. *c* mbonn-, mbantа. *d* ṫeaṡantа. *15c* na. *16a* ḃaimiṫ. *18b* nid. *19a* ṁalaid. *20d* a ṫruaḋ ṡ. ṡ. do ṡ. *21b* deiliuṡaḋ. *c* mb. *d* aiḃéil = aiġṁéil ?, but *cf. Tadhg Dall's Poems* ii. p. 328. *23c* ṡca. *24a* The point of the reference is not clear. *c* maitḟeaċ. *25a* Ancestor of Í Chonchobhair, Í Ruairc, etc. *d* iarṁuṁ

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW SOCIALIST

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

MR. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S sister-in-law asked him to write a letter explaining Socialism. He first thought of referring her to the hundreds of books written on Socialism, but on second thoughts he decided that none of them was satisfactory and that it was necessary to write another large volume himself. Hence *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*.[1] This is one more to the long list of popular propagandist statements of Socialism. It belongs to the same class as Robert Blatchford's *Merrie England*, the chief difference being that *Merrie England* was published at 3d., and this is published at 15s. Mr. Shaw's Socialism is dressed to appeal to the capitalist class. He tells us, over and over again, that he is a landlord and a capitalist, that he has investments in coal mines and railways and British Government Stocks, and that his wife is interested in banks and insurance companies and gilt-edged. He assumes that his Intelligent Woman is in the same favoured circumstances, and he assures her with all the emphasis at his command that she need not fear that on becoming a Socialist she will have to make any change in her use of money or in her manner of living.

> Should you become a convert to Socialism you will not be committed to any change in your private life, nor indeed will you find yourself able to make any change that would be of the smallest use in that direction. The discussions in the papers as to whether a Socialist Prime Minister should keep a motor car, or a Socialist playwright receive fees for allowing his plays to be performed, or Socialist landlords and capitalists charge rent for their land or

[1] London: Constable. 1928. 495 pages. 15s. net.

interest on their capital, or a Socialist of any sort refrain from selling all that she has and giving it to the poor (quite the most mischievous thing she could possibly do with it), are all disgraceful displays of ignorance not only of Socialism, but of common civilisation.

On the contrary it would appear that intelligent women, on receiving Socialist enlightenment, must restrain any impulse of purely personal benevolence they may have hitherto gratified. Answering his own question as to what a government that had confiscated all property could do with it Mr. Shaw observes :—

> It could distribute the money in doles ; but that would only spread the very evil the confiscation was intended to destroy : that is to say, the evil of unearned income. A much sounder plan (and do not forget this when next you are tempted to give a spare £5 note to a beggar instead of putting it on deposit at your bank) would be to throw all the money into the confiscated banks, and lend it to employers at unprecedentedly cheap rates.

Mr. Shaw is nothing if not reassuring in his addresses to the capitalists. He insists on the most scrupulous compensation at every step in the socialisation of industry ; he is the straitest of individualists in denouncing government competition with private enterprise, and the wrongs suffered by rentiers from currency inflation rouse him to a white heat of indignation. Mr. Shaw has nothing but intellectual scorn for the impatient proletarians whose slogan is "Socialism in our Time." When it suits his argument, however, he is quite ready to prove that we are, every one of us, Socialists and even Communists already. He feels no necessity to be logical in dressing up Socialism for consumption by ladies with comfortable incomes.

The book is a much better guide to Capitalism than to Socialism, for Mr. Shaw is such an individualist that he insists on having a Socialism different from that of every other Socialist in the world. Socialism for him is Equality of Incomes. He devotes only six pages of his book to the history of Socialist thought, and he makes

generous acknowledgments to himself in this brief survey :—

> I also made it quite clear that Socialism means equality of income or nothing, and that under Socialism you would not be allowed to be poor. You would be forcibly fed, clothed, lodged, taught, and employed whether you liked it or not. If it were discovered that you had not character and industry enough to be worth all this trouble, you might possibly be executed in a kindly manner ; but whilst you were permitted to live you would have to live well. Also you would not be allowed to have half-a-crown an hour when other women had only two shillings, or to be content with two shillings when they had half-a-crown. As far as I know I was the first Socialist writer to whom it occurred to state this explicitly as a necessary postulate of permanent civilization ; but as nothing that is true is ever new, I dare say it had been said again and again before I was born.

If Mr. Shaw was not the first Socialist to demand equality of incomes, he is certainly the last. None of his Socialist contemporaries has shown any desire to deprive him of his uniqueness and originality. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald refers to the question of equal incomes only to dismiss it as one of the unintelligent questions raised by opponents of Socialism.[1] But the game of setting off one Socialist against another is too easy to be amusing. It is enough to say that Mr. Shaw has met with the fate of the Liberals he has been fond of satirizing in his plays. A young man, with a delicious sense of daring, adopts the views that are labelled " progressive " in his generation. He holds to his views in later life, and can never be brought to realise that they have become antiquated instead of remaining advanced. Mr. Shaw is indeed hopelessly out of touch with the more modern developments of Socialism. He is a Bourbon who has learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the halcyon days of the Fabian Essayists. He remains satisfied with the formulae of State ownership and State control, which have been jettisoned by every Socialist party in the world that has advanced from the propagandist to the parliamentary stage.

[1] *The Socialist Movement.* By J. R. MacDonold, pp. 112-13.

The practical difficulties in the way of equality of incomes must be so patent to every intelligent woman that she will probably not bother herself with the logical inconsistencies in which Mr. Shaw's teaching abounds. When he wants to have his fling at personal charity he preaches the most extreme individualism. Man's self-love becomes God's providence. There is more social utility in putting your £5 in a bank to earn interest than in feeding the hungry. But when the Government takes from rich tax-payers money that they might have invested and uses it for charitable relief, Mr. Shaw sees the realisation of his own ideals :—

> This is pure redistribution of income, that is, pure Socialism. The officers of the Government take the money from the rich and give it to the poor because the poor have not enough and the rich have too much, without regard to their personal merits.

The special and basic doctrine of Mr. Shaw is Equality of Incomes. But he keeps forgetting this when he has occasion to urge the abolition of Unearned Income. The abolition of unequal incomes and the abolition of unearned incomes are two different horses, and it passes the equestrian ability of Mr. Shaw to ride them both simultaneously. Equality of Incomes must involve some people getting more and others getting less than they earn, unless there is equality of products among all members of society. Mr. Shaw is realistic enough never to suppose there will be or could be equality of ability and performance. On the last page of his book, in the only passage which rises to eloquence, he defines the true lady as she who, "generously over-earning her income, leaves the nation in her debt and the world a better world than she found."

Mr. Shaw professes to discuss exhaustively the possible plans of distribution other than the arithmetical equality which he makes his own. The Intelligent Woman, and Mr. Shaw himself for that matter, would find a more complete as well as more concise discussion in Chapter

XVI., "The Principal Canons of Distributive Justice," of Dr. John A. Ryan's *Distributive Justice*. Arithmetical equality in the distribution of wealth, apart from being impossible, is not even "idealistic," to use Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's doubtful word in its favour. There is more ethical value in the old communist motto: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. Human beings are unequal not only in their powers but in their needs; they differ widely not only in the amount of wealth they produce but in that which they require for personal development, for productive efficiency, for health and even for life. Parents with children, teachers with pupils, doctors with patients do not give equal rations of care and attention, for they know that equal rations would mean wasteful excess in some cases and scandalous deficiency in others. No doubt the best method of distributing food among soldiers on the march or in the trenches is to issue equal rations, but the result is that men with smaller appetites throw some away and men with larger appetites go short, unless the two sorts of men are able to get together and by give-and-take or giving without taking, correct the maladjustments of regulation equality. But the rough and ready expedient justified by emergency is not a model for the construction of Utopia.

Equality of incomes would not be possible even if all men were agreed in wishing equality. All the men cannot marry the prettiest bride, all the litigants cannot have the best lawyer, the butcher cannot let all his customers have the best cuts of beef, all the houses cannot be built in the most desirable situations for residence. This is most easily understood if we imagine for a moment that there is no medium of exchange and that we all had to receive our incomes not in money but in goods. It is evident that in all those things where grade and quality count, and in all things, like every piece of land, which are in some respect unique, equality is impossible.

Equal payment in money does not overcome the impossibility of making an equal distribution of goods. If all buyers had equal monetary resources, price differences could not be great enough to express the differences in values. Agreement would have to be sought by some rule of first-come-first-served, or of rotation, or by drawing lots.

It has been shown that equality of incomes is ethically unsatisfactory, and moreover is utterly impossible even if all men wanted it and were willing to make every necessary sacrifice to attain it. If we were to consider its practicability with human nature as we know it to be, the proposal becomes too absurd for anything but ridicule. We can save our space, because the Intelligent Woman will be aware of this without further argument. Mr. Shaw has a chapter on "Rent of Ability." He begins by considering the possessors of some lucrative personal talent, the singer, the painter, the surgeon or the actress. He will allow these favoured individuals their higher incomes, without any limit, but they must spend their money and not invest it :—

> These cases need not worry us. They are very scarce ; indeed if they became common their power to enrich would vanish. They do not confer either industrial power or political privilege. The world is not ruled by prima donnas and painters, two-headed nightingales and surgical baronets, as it is by financiers and industrial organizers. Geniuses and monsters may make a great deal of money, but they have to work for it. I myself, through the accident of a lucrative talent, have sometimes made a hundred times as much money in a year as my father ever did ; but he, as an employer, had more power over the lives of others than I. A practical political career would stop my professional career at once. It is true that I or any other possessor of a lucrative talent or charm can buy land and industrial incomes with our spare money, and thus become landlords and capitalists. But if that resource were cut off by Socialism or any other change in the general constitution of society, I doubt whether anyone would grudge us our extra spending money. An attempt by the Government to tax it so as to reduce us to the level of ordinary mortals would probably be highly unpopular, because the pleasure we give is delightful and widespread, whilst the harm we do by our conceit

and tantrums and jealousies and spoiltness is narrowly limited to the unfortunate few who are in personal contact with us. A prima donna with a rope of pearls ten feet long and a coronet of Kohinoors does not make life any worse for the girl with a string of beads who, by buying a five shilling ticket, helps to pay for the pearls; she makes it better by enchanting it.

It is a lapse of Mr. Shaw into realism when he sacrifices his ideal of equality of incomes at the feet of the prima donna and her kind. But it is not good sense to insist that the lady should waste her spare money in extravagant living instead of putting it in the bank to earn interest. Mr. Shaw has elsewhere advocated the banking of money as being of higher social utility than the giving of relief to the distressed. He can now only condemn the private investment of money because it means Unearned Income, and it means "power over the lives of others." This book will hardly enhance Mr. Shaw's reputation for acuteness. He has failed to see that his own ideals involve unearned income; he has failed also to see that all spending of money, equally with investment, involves "power over the lives of others." The demand for goods is demand for the labour required to produce the goods. The demand for ropes of pearls and coronets of Kohinoors is a demand that some men should labour at pearl-diving and others in diamond mines. The rich playwrights and prima donnas with their chauffeurs and chefs and men-servants and maids and secretaries and gardeners have just as much power over the labour of others as if they were industrial employers. The doctrine of Mr. Shaw forbids a farmer to employ a labourer for wages, but it allows a cinema star or a writer of "best sellers" to engage a whole following of flunkeys, like the magnates of the Middle Ages who maintained large bands of idle retainers. The doctrine actually encourages this sort of ostentatious luxury and display, for the earners of the large incomes have to dissipate them, they are not allowed to capitalise any part. All the capital the community needs is to be

raised by the Government by means of taxation. Voluntary investment is forbidden, but every citizen is forced to finance the Government's investments. It is a system that seems designed to yield more trouble than capital.

While Mr. Shaw's admission of rent of ability is a concession to common sense, the exception he makes in favour of the prima donna and her kind is indefensible morally and socially. The talents of these artists are free gifts of nature. Those who have freely received should freely give. Moreover the artists are exceptionally rewarded by the admiration and distinction they are able to command. They do not need the vulgar incentive of extra monetary payment to make them do their best. They have less moral claim to higher payment than those who make extra efforts or who undertake more dangerous, more disagreeable or more responsible work. The superior moral claims for such work reinforces the considerations based on social expediency. The playwrights and orators will doubtless always be as witty and as eloquent as they can be even if they all get equal pay, but human nature requires an incentive to make men prefer danger to safety, hardship to comfort, and a worrying job to one that is care-free. Mr. Shaw merely trifles with the difficulties in the way of his scheme. He actually disapproves of people who work harder than others! He would compensate for the more unpleasant and dangerous kinds of work by the allotment of shorter hours. This would mean that more people would be required for these occupations. As there are people to whom certain kinds of work are less uncongenial than to others, there would probably be a majority vote in favour of letting compensation take the form of higher pay instead of shorter hours, but Mr. Shaw is not the man to bow to majority votes. When he comes to the difficulty of getting men to accept greater responsibility without higher pay his solution is simple coercion :—

When a couple of soldiers are sent on any duty, one of them

must be made a corporal for the occasion, as there must be some one to make the decisions and be responsible for them. Usually both men object; each trying to shove the burden on the other. When they differ in this respect, the Platonic rule is to choose the reluctant man, as the probability is that the ambitious man is a conceited fool, who does not feel the responsibility because he does not understand it. This kind of reluctance cannot be overcome by extra pay. It may be overcome by simple coercion, as in the case of common jurors.

Simple coercion is the sovereign specific and panacea throughout the whole Shavian scheme. Reading this book we can well understand that the author's well-known admiration for Mussolini is inevitable. To Mr. Shaw liberty is meaningless except in the sense of leisure. Political liberty, religious liberty, national liberty, civil liberty, industrial liberty, none of these phrases mean anything. Magna Charta, Habeas Corpus, Home Rule, Representation of the People Acts have nothing to do with liberty. The only liberty is leisure.

The only Acts of Parliament that have really increased liberty, that is, added to the number of minutes in which a woman's time is her own, are the Factory Acts which reduced her hours of industrial labour, the Sunday Observance Acts which forbid commercial work on every seventh day, and the Bank Holiday Acts.

Does this deserve any comment except that Mr. Shaw raves? Yet with a lunatic's logic he proceeds to deny liberty in detail. He frankly advocates the compulsory inculcation of a State religion and the persecution of all rival religions. In a chapter on "Socialism and Children" he says:—

To put it quite frankly and flatly, the Socialist State, as far as I can guess, will teach the child the multiplication table, but will not only not teach it the Church Catechism, but if the State's teachers find that the child's parents have been teaching it the Catechism otherwise than as a curious historical document, the parents will be warned that if they persist, the child will be taken out of their hands and handed to the Lord Chancellor, exactly as the children of Shelley were when their maternal grandfather denounced his son-in-law as an atheist.

Further, a Socialist State will not allow the Bible to be introduced in schools otherwise than as a collection of old chronicles,

poems, oracles and political fulminations . . . Also the doctrine that our life in this world is only a brief preliminary episode in preparation for an all-important life to come, and that it does not matter how poor or miserable or plague-ridden we are in this world, as we shall be gloriously compensated in the next if we suffer patiently, will be prosecuted as seditious and blasphemous.

I have transcribed these long quotations because I should expect my readers to think I must be misrepresenting Mr. Shaw if I summarised or paraphrased him. It will be observed that he travesties the doctrines he would proscribe. His untruthfulness is an aggravation and not a palliation of his intolerance. Many of his pages would disgrace the coarsest secularist tub-thumpers of Hyde Park. I will give only one more of the many revolting examples that could be given of his mind. He has a chapter on " Socialism and Marriage " in which he contemplates the possible necessity of limiting population. He thinks it might be necessary for the State to prescribe the maximum number of children per family. He goes on to say :—

Any State limiting the number of children permitted to a family would be compelled not only to tolerate contraception, but to inculcate it and instruct women in its methods. And this would immediately bring it in conflict with the Churches. Whether under such circumstances the State would simply ignore the Churches, or pass a law under which their preachers could be prosecuted for sedition, would depend wholly on the gravity of the emergency, and not on the principles of liberty, toleration, freedom of conscience, and so-forth, which were so stirringly trumpeted in England in the eighteenth century, when the boot was on the other foot.

The only redeeming features of Mr. Shaw's book, apart from flashes of wit, are the lively criticisms of the abuses of Capitalism. But taken altogether the book is a monument of the silliness of trying always to say things that nobody else would think of saying. The book will do no service to the cause of Socialism, and Socialist apologists in the future will be kept busy explaining that Mr. Shaw speaks only for himself and does not represent Socialist opinion. H. Somerville.

CHRONICLE

I—John J. Raskob

Finance Chairman of General Motors Corporation
Manager of Governor Smith's Presidental Campaign

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D.

A FEW days after the practically unanimous determination of the Democratic Convention to accord Governor Alfred E. Smith the nomination for presidency on the Democratic ticket, came the first definite step in the campaign by the declaration from Governor Smith that he had chosen John J. Raskob of Wilmington, Delaware, as the manager of his campaign. Immediately there was very general curiosity with regard to the question who was Raskob. The newspapers announced that he was the vice-president in charge of finance of the General Motors Corporation. But while that was surely an index that he was a moneyed man, it told very little about him; for even the financial manager of a huge corporation may be, under certain circumstances, only a more or less commonplace representative of a group of banks or the "dependable man" of a group of capitalists. It was not long, however, before American inquisitiveness unearthed the extremely interesting life story attached to this curiously unfamiliar name. John J. Raskob had not been in the limelight of publicity to any extent before the last few months. He is certainly in the limelight now.

Last spring, when Wall Street was having a succession of four million share days, that is when four million shares of stock and sometimes nearly five millions, with an average value of $100 per share, were changing hands every day, there came a lull in the proceedings because presumably stocks had reached their highest point. Already there were some signs of descent in prices when one day a man named Raskob, just as he sailed for Europe, remarked that General Motors stock (which at the beginning of the year sold at 130 and was now selling above 150 and had been a great leader in the market) was really selling far below its true value. Wall Street and its devotees took the hint, and the next day General Motors stock advanced some seven points and then continued to advance several points a day until it went above two hundred. A great many people, some of whom thought they had the right to an opinion in the matter,

said that such buying and selling was pure speculation and that such prices were not justified by values. They predicted that there would surely be a panicky fall, because the bottom would drop out of what was manifestly an artifical market, and probably a good many people, some of whom could not afford it, would suffer because other stocks would be carried down in the movement and large losses would be incurred.

A few days ago after the completion of the financial year, when the announcement of the earnings of the General Motors Corporation was made, it was found that they had earned one-fourth more in millions of dollars between January 1, 1928 and June 30, 1928, than during the corresponding six months of the previous year. That meant something like seven million and a half pounds sterling of increase in net profits. Is it any wonder that people sat up and took notice and began to ask various questions as to this man Raskob? An American farmer who heard about Keats wondered what the word meant and finally asked, "What are Keats?" Someone said once that it was Raskob that made motor cars "go" so well, that is sell so universally—especially here in America. He is the inventor of the credit or instalment system of buying automobiles—so much down and so much a month—and has made the method work without loss to the sellers. When people heard that Raskob made motor cars "go," some concluded that this must be some sort of new lubricating oil, and they asked, "What's Raskob?" But now everybody in America knows just who he is and something definite about him, because he has been picked out as Governor Smith's right hand man for the campaign.

The man's career is extremely interesting, and is typically American and twentieth century. He was born in 1879 in Lockport, New York State, which is not far from Buffalo on the Erie Canal, so that he will not be fifty years of age until next year. His father was an Alsatian, and his mother was Irish, and he is very proud of the Irish blood in him. His father died when he was nineteen, leaving his mother and three other children to be supported by him. In the June issue of STUDIES I recalled how one of our most distinguished New York jurists, Judge Daly, once said that the best education you can give a boy of fifteen to twenty is to put his widowed mother on his hands to support. If there is anything in that boy it will come out, and education consists in bringing things out, not pouring them in.

Fortunately young Raskob had the advantage of a high school education with a commercial training and was a good

stenographer. He began work less than thirty years ago at $7.50 a week, let us say thirty shillings. He gave such satisfaction in his position that he secured the office of secretary to the president of a street railway in a small town in Lorain, Ohio. For this he received $1,000 a year; but he soon rose to something higher. His employer, Pierre du Pont, purchased the Dallas (Texas) Street Railway Co. and made Raskob treasurer. Pierre du Pont was one of three cousins who, in 1902, acquired the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Co., manufacturers of explosives in Wilmington, Delaware. Pierre came to Wilmington as treasurer of the company, and with him came Raskob as assistant—at a salary of $3,000. Later Pierre became president and Raskob vice-president in charge of finance. Then the great European War broke out, and the du Ponts did an enormous business in munitions for the Allies. The price of their shares on the stock exchange advanced from $75 to $1,000 a share. To meet the demands of the Allies the du Ponts had to build up a great organisation. What to do with this organisation after the War was an ever present problem. We shall see presently how it was solved.

In 1908 William C. Durant organised the General Motors Corporation by combining a number of independent manufacturers of motor cars. The public generally thought the Corporation was over-capitalised; but it made money, and became eventually the great rival of Henry Ford. Raskob invested some of his spare funds in it, and persuaded Pierre du Pont to do the same. In 1915 it was found that they held the balance of power between two rival sets of stock-holders. A compromise was effected, and Pierre du Pont was appointed chairman of the Board of Directors. The du Pont Company had no less than thirty Directors; but Raskob persuaded them all that they ought to invest heavily in General Motors. They purchased $125,000,000 of General Motors stock, which gave them ownership of 40 to 45 per cent. of the corporation. On February 21, 1918, Raskob became Chairman of the Finance Committee of the General Motors Corporation, which position he still holds. How the Corporation has prospered under his guidance may be gauged from the fact that a purchaser of $1,000 worth of General Motors stock some fifteen years ago is now said to own stock worth about $75,000, and in the meantime he has drawn dividends equal to more than ten times his original investment. General Motors assets have increased from less than seventy-five millions to over a billion of dollars. Last year the sales increased one-fifth, while the assets increased one-fourth. It is not surprising that Raskob

is now considered to be one of the half-dozen wealthiest men in America.

This is the brief story of Raskob's rise to fortune. Those who know him well still call him Johnny Raskob, and Johnny is one of the most interesting men in America to-day. He is a good Catholic, and has always been a good parishioner. He has been an insurance member of the Knights of Columbus for some twenty-five years. He has twelve children, whose pictures, all in a long frame above his desk, he delights to point out to visitors. It is said that he has no better fun than playing with his children at his home on the Delaware River near Wilmington, and he is still young enough to enjoy the more athletic sport of baseball.

Raskob has recently come into great prominence in Catholic circles by presenting the bishop of the diocese of Wilmington with half a million of dollars, on condition that his fellow Catholics would contribute another half million. He bound himself to add a third half million, if that condition were fulfilled. His idea is that in this way every church in the diocese could be put in order and could have, if there were children enough to justify it, a school beside it. In an interview granted to the correspondent of *Columbia* Mr. Raskob explained his reasons for making this princely gift to his home diocese :—

> We take our young men inspired for the priesthood and train them to be theologians. Then when they come to us to teach us our theology and its social and religious consequences, we ask them to become financiers, to plan for and to administer capital investment in the material necessities of the Church often to an amount that requires the most highly developed business and financial judgment.

One of our American bishops, who died last year after more than forty years in the episcopacy, used to remind his priests at every Retreat that financial ability was not one of the gifts of the Holy Ghost conferred on them at their ordination, that too many priests unfortunately act under the conviction that they possess financial ability in an eminent degree. Mr Raskob does not put it so bluntly—that is for a bishop to say—but he realises that not everyone has the talent to manage the finances of a large parish or diocese with many institutions and charitable works. "In Wilmington we are making the effort to relieve the clergy of that burden," he said in the interview quoted above. For that purpose a diocesan foundation, controlled by the bishop, three clerical consultors and three laymen, is to be incorporated. Mr. Raskob says once more : "We do not fly in the face of the tradition of the Church which gives the bishop ultimate responsibility ; but we do ask the laymen to assume functions for which

their character and training must be presumed to fit them better than those primarily concerned with the spiritual affairs of the Church." He outlines the purpose of the endowment thus :—

> In the Wilmington diocese, as in many others, there are fine churches and schools in some of the bigger centres. But in many other places there are ramshackle church buildings and makeshift schoolhouses that are inadequate to their purpose either as places of worship or as places of learning. More than that, the adults who attend the churches and the children who attend the schools are ashamed of them. It is not too much to say that in some instances Catholics are weaned from the church and from the school because of the inferiority complex which their inferior buildings give them.

This is the man then whom Governor Smith has chosen as the manager of his campaign. So far from being prominent in Democratic circles before this, Raskob had been affiliated with certain Republican organisations, from which he resigned in order to take this position of general-in-chief of Governor Smith's forces. He is a type of certain thoughtful and influential Republicans who have been forced into recognising that the "pussy-footing" methods of the two political parties in the matter of prohibition is gradually producing throughout the country a disregard for law and above all a widespread belief in the hypocrisy of public men. There is no doubt at all that a great many wealthy men do not hesitate in the least to violate the Eighteenth or Prohibition Amendment of the United States Constitution in private life, and yet they pretend to support it publicly, and they insist on making it extremely difficult for ordinary people to secure such satisfaction of their legitimate desires as their wealth permits them to secure for themselves.

Probably nothing brings about serious disregard for law sooner than hypocrisy, and just now all our bar associations as well as all those who are interested in sociology are startled into recognising that there never was a time when there was such utter disregard for law as at the present moment in our country. We have something like ten times as many murders in New York and particularly in Chicago as they have in London, and we capture fewer of our murderers and punish properly still fewer. The jury system, to a certain extent, has broken down. Juries refuse to convict, and some of that at least is due to the fact that there is a definite feeling among the middle classes that the rich are imposing on the country and are securing privileges for themselves while hampering the exercise of plain rights among those who are less fortunate.

It is probably this more than anything else that Mr. Raskob stands for as the manager of Governor Smith's compaign, and it

will be interesting to see how many others of the thoughtful people of the country will swing over to the Democratic ranks as the result of serious consideration of the lawlessness which has developed during the past ten years—a corollary of the Prohibition Amendment. This makes the present election much more than a contest between Democrats and Republicans; it gives to the election and preliminaries such an added interest as developed in the days when slavery was the issue between the political parties. JAMES J. WALSH.

II.—A German Prophet

BY MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.
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Der Rembrandtdeutsche: Julius Langbehn. Von Benedikt Momme Nissen. (Herder. 1927. M. 7.50).

IN 1927 there appeared from the Herder Press, as a volume of 348 octavo pages, the revised edition of a biography of a writer who, in 1890, leaped into sensational fame as the anonymous author of a single book—*Rembrandt as Educator.* The book attracted so much attention, aroused so much comment, and ran into so many editions in a single year that it long set a headline for authors in search of a catchy title, and—best proof of its stimulating character—it was imitated, attacked and caricatured indefinitely. But nothing could be further removed from sensationalism than the spirit of the writer, and no challenge could induce him to reveal himself to a public to whom he was absolutely indifferent. He cared as little for personal fame as he did for pecuniary profit. Though in dire poverty, he had refused to accept any fees from the publishers, and had with difficulty obtained from them the undertaking that his book of over 300 pages should be published at two shillings, so as to be a "national" book, accessible to those to whom ordinarily new publications are an impossibility. Now that the Rembrandt German has been dead more than twenty years, that he has passed beyond the reach of the curious and the sensation hunters, the veil has been lifted by the only one competent to do so, the friend and the disciple of the last fourteen years of his life.

The book as a biography leaves little to be desired. It is the life story of what is so rare in any age—and rarer perhaps than ever in a modern mechanized age—of a man and a personality. The rare and precious character of a great personality as the

raison d'être for such a detailed story of evolution, vocation and fulfilment is indicated in the motto on the title-page: "More precious than gold is a man, more valuable than the purest gold a human personality." The structure of the work is sound, its outlines clear, its balance admirable; the treatment is objective, and yet not cold; scientific, and yet not soulless; there are no exaggerations, no false idealisations; it is accurately documented and yet human; pulsating with life and colour and warmth; worthy of the painter priest who wrote it, and is in the spirit of the great individualist of whose life and striving it is the faithful record.

The biography is in three parts, under the headings: Evolution, The Educator, The Friend of God, and there is an admirable proportion between these parts and a living unity in their development into a whole. In the spirit of the "Rembrandt German" himself is the emphasis laid on the Low German homeland, Langbehn's and Nissen's native Schleswig Holstein, on the teacher father and parson grandfather, on the stern simplicity and piety of his upbringing. Everywhere—in the early Kiel experiences, in the North Italian journey extending over two years and undertaken without a penny, a sort of Odyssey of nature and art, in the Munich University period, where five years are spent on art and archaeology, a study that is with Langbehn more practical than theoretical—we see the Rembrandt German that is to be. He is even then the enemy of sham and shibboleth, the lover of life and nature and reality, the hater of the trivial and the false, the seeker and follower of the true. Charles Waldstein, afterwards the celebrated Cambridge archaeologist, is produced amongst others in evidence to show that Langbehn is already one of the few "who venture not only to think their thoughts but to live them." The unique strength and independence of that personality are clear to every observer, a strength and independence that grinding poverty could not undermine.

From 1883, when Langbehn on his return from a travelling studentship stay in Rome refused to settle down as a "specialist," to 1890, when his famous book *Rembrandt as Educator* was published, it is hard for anyone to understand how he lived. He had no private means. But his programme is clear. He will "serve the German people in his own fashion, laying before them in due time his thoughts and views on many matters, thereby promoting their present and future development." The main outlines of his programme in Art, Literature and Politics are already fixed, but the detailed and formal working out remains to be done. Ways and means have to be found somehow or other. It is clear that

he is a man with a mission. In this portion of the biography, the immediate preparation and evolution of the Rembrandt German, Momme Nissen does excellent work. By documentation of various kinds, frequent quotations from letters and poems, he shows us Langbehn's consuming search after truth, his stressing of and striving after purity of heart, his identification of the ethical and the spiritual principle. The merely intellectual is for him below the ethical. Heart and mind and soul are the creative factors, the generating stuff of art. The brain, the mere intellect, knowledge is disintegrating, is death, not life. To help to replace the reign of brain by the reign of soul, to substitute art for science, the creative for the critical, greatness for triviality, colour for grayness ; to restore to the German world the lost sense of its great traditions, its great men and great artists—that was the task that Langbehn now set himself. He is full of confidence in his ability to carry it out. But for his purpose he leads a "dedicated" life, avoiding conventional society, ceaselessly educating himself by contact with simple people, with artists, and with the works of the great masters of a greater age. Berlin and Dresden alternate now with Munich ; with their great treasures of art he becomes familiar ; artists like Leibl and Hans Thoma, both of whom painted his portrait, feel the force of his personality and the value of his encouragement. He brings the great energy of his mind and the giant strength of his intellect to bear upon his experiences. The result will be the Rembrandt book, a foretaste of which we have in the work *Low German*, originally contributed in 1887 in article form to a newspaper and recently published as a book by Momme Nissen, who fittingly calls it the jumping-off ground for the great Rembrandt achievement.

The content of this little book is an analysis of Low German characteristics as represented not only on the continent of Germany but in Holland, Flanders and Britain by great men such as Rembrandt, Beethoven, Shakespeare, Bismarck, Moltke. There is, to my thinking, in this assembling of heroic types more than a suggestion of Carlylean influence, but with no prejudicing of the originality of the idea and treatment, the daringness of the conclusions, and the rich individualness of the prose form. Nissen, in a notice appended to the work, points out that here too, as later in the Rembrandt book, Langbehn was a pioneer, and that ethnologists like Vacher de Lapouge and Alexander von Peez owed not a little to his keen and stimulating mind. That statement we may accept as true ; for even Langbehn's enemies, the "experts," always admitted the stimulus and the prophetic

intuition of the man who was, after all, as scientifically trained as they, but who had refused to be confined within the limits of a smaller school than that of God and nature and life. Germanic races the world over and statesmen and political thinkers everywhere should be interested in this book, with its keen grasp of realities, its sense of the spirit moving under the surface of things, its feeling for the continuity of human and racial forces, its view of the past as the mirror of the present and the indication of the future.

In 1890, after long years of preparation, assisted in the last two years by a patron, Woldemar von Seidlitz, Curator of the Art Collections at Dresden, Langbehn launched his great reform book, *Rembrandt as Educator*. He had over and over again, from 1881 onwards, insisted on the actuality of his ideas, on their relation to living reality. "There are other realities," he writes in 1883, "than the written word or the clinking coin. Such realities are Poetry, Art, Religion, Language." He stresses his objectivity, but an objectivity that does not exclude zeal, warmth, even indignation. His "ira et studio" are not personal. One must have the courage of one's convictions in a good cause. Anything else is want of character.

It is safe to say that no work, certainly no work of a nameless author, ever attracted more attention than this of Langbehn's. It ran through thirty editions in a year; re-issued in popular and other form in 1926-27, it stands to-day well in the foreground of German life and thought. Though many of the reviews run by experts preserved a strange silence with regard to it, two articles, one in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* of 1890, by W. Bode, Director of the Berlin Museum, and the other in the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, by Professor (later Bishop) von Keppler, of Tübingen, testify to its remarkable character. Bode, commenting with surprise on the silence of the guild of professional critics, does justice to the extraordinary scope of the book, the wide range of learning of the author, the reality and actuality of his conceptions, his daring and original views, his profound and illuminating study of Rembrandt, his keen insight into the diseases of the age, the trenchant force and vigour of his style, his command of language, his brilliant paradoxes, his wit. He quotes at considerable length from his analysis of Rembrandt, and foresees the stimulus that will go forth from this man who, in strong contrast to the self-advertising spirits of the age, sinks his own person in the greatness of the cause that he advocates. Bishop von Keppler, who a short time before his death prefixed to Momme Nissen's biography a

most interesting account of his relations with Langbehn, characterised the book as one of the finest and most beneficial productions of the age. He pointed out at the same time that the Saviour required by the age was not, in the first instance, Rembrandt but Christ, and that not art but religion was the highest cultural force. He concluded his critique with the words : " The author is a man of art, of science, of political thought, of philosophy, a thorough judge of the present age and of Germany. One thing as reformer he lacks—a thorough knowledge of religion and of Christianity. With a mind so clear and a heart so noble, we may well hope that one day this defect will be made good."

It is not easy to give a clear and at the same time a concise idea of the scope and character of this work, which ran into over 300 octavo pages and " cast a searchlight on the whole domain of the art, science, politics and national life of the Germany of the time, revealing with an unheard of candour the defects and indicating the reforms to be undertaken if disaster were not to ensue." The starting point of his theme is the decline that he sees in the Germany of the '90's. Scientific specialisation, soulless and heartless, is dominant ; so-called reason sits enthroned ; statistics have become a superstition ; colour and joy and life have passed away with the passing of the spiritual element. The Germans are over-ripe ; over-culture is worse than none. The moderns have lost touch with their past, with their great traditions, their great men, with the soil, with nature, with the people. All that must be changed. There must be a change of heart ; individuality must be recaptured. The great past must be revived. Not the works must be re-created—that would be imitation, worse than useless ; the mind of the makers must be re-discovered, the key to their great spirit must be found. The industrial great city, with its mechanism and its soulless wealth, must no longer set the standard ; time for contemplation, for reflection, for communion with God and nature must be found ; in a word, the man, and not the brain or the machine, must live. The principal agents in this regeneration of a nation are the great native artists, born of the soil, expressing the feelings of their people, but individualised, mirrored and reflected in a great personality. This individuality must not, however, be mere caprice ; it must be related to and fitted in with the great structure of one's nation and one's world. A national style can be achieved only in connection with national ideals. All these theories are advanced in a language full of fire and vigour, nervous and tense (Bismarck, who both read and met the Rembrandt German, was surprised

at his personal modesty and quietness; for, said he, "the man writes as with a club stick"—so great seemed to him the nerve and vigour of the style). Every statement is supported and exemplified, and great Germanic names like Vogelweide, Goethe, Dürer, Shakespeare, Rembrandt, Beethoven, Bach recur again and again to illustrate the author's understanding of individuality, monumentality and style.

The unconscious nature of style and individuality and the diseased over-consciousness of the moderns are dwelt on. Terse sayings such as "Originality is not the aim, but the postulate, of all artistic work"; "Modern Germany is microscopic; it would be well if she became macroscopic"; "Machines have come to stay, but men must control them"; "Style is character made visible in form"; "Science may be international, art never; it is born of individuality"; "Fashion is democratic, style is aristocratic"; "Ancient art was grouped round the temple; modern art is grouped round the shop"; "Culture cannot be taught, it must be lived"; "Art cannot replace religion; the spirit is always greater than its expression," abound everywhere in the book.

Bode, who is perhaps the greatest living authority on Rembrandt (his monumental work on the artist is subsequent to Langbehn's book), found stimulus and pleasure for himself and truth for his ideas in Langbehn's analysis of the individuality of Rembrandt. Langbehn accentuated above all his humanness, his Christianity, his religious sense, his joy in life, his strength of character, his simplicity, a citizen among his fellow citizens, and not a member of a clique or coterie, and yet an aristocrat—head and centre of a local art school. In a beautiful passage he describes how he seems to hear in the artist's pictures "something of the murmur of the waves washing his native shores; soft, sweet, melting colour tones flood his pictures; quiet, deep, dark, enchanting melodies. His art is like Beethoven's music, harmony resolved out of bitterness."

In Rembrandt Langbehn finds what modern Germany lacks—native spirit and greatness of soul. Against the soullessness of Berlin he sets the soulfulness of Rembrandt and of the great German classical age, and passes in review three great European art centres—the Greek, the Venetian, the Low German—in all three of which he finds united naturalness and individual genius. He demands of the modern world a more childlike spirit, more conservatism, more naturalness, more sense of virtue, more spirit of belief.

Between the years 1890 and 1900, when Langbehn after long searching was received in Holland into the Catholic Church, his life was spent in constant travel and study. Interludes such as the visits to Bismarck and to Nietzsche and his letter to Bishop von Keppler on Nietzsche's death throw interesting lights on those two famous characters. Interesting in the extreme are the gradual stages by which he was led into the Church. Dr. von Keppler he corresponded with, always anonymously, for sometime after the appearance of the Rembrandt book. At the same time he sought out the publisher of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, in which Dr. von Keppler's review had appeared, and at his own request was invited to stay with him and his family at Landshut. This was probably his first acquaintance with cultured Catholics. In 1891 he met for the first time the Schleswig Holstein painter Momme Nissen, with whose pictures he had become familiar in Munich, and who in 1893 definitely attached himself to Langbehn, associating himself with his plans for a reform of art and education in Germany and co-operating in the various works he undertook from time to time. The chapters dealing with their common life in Vienna, in Southern Germany and at home in Schleswig Holstein, the gradual unfolding in the mind of master and disciple of the idea of Catholicism, Langbehn's reception into the Church at Rotterdam in 1900, his disciple's reception at Sigmaringen in 1902, Langbehn's association with Bishop von Keppler in his pamphlet on "Right and Wrong Reforms in Catholic Cultural Life," his rejection of any attempt to "reform" Catholicism with the help of the hostile principles of "modern science," his attitude towards the question of a reconciliation between Catholicism and "modern" culture—all these are chapters full of fascination for the student of religion, of history, and of philosophy.

The "Rembrandt Deutsche" died in 1907 at the age of 56, and lies buried in a little mountain churchyard in Puch in the Bavarian Highlands. His grave is marked by a marble tablet on which are cut the words said of him by his friend, the Bishop of Rottenburg: "He, too, was the voice of one crying in the wilderness." After his death Momme Nissen entered the Order of the Dominicans, from whose convent of Walberberg all his works now go forth. The biography which has supplied the text for this article is one step on the way of the duty which he has taken upon himself of rescuing for posterity the personality of a great and good man.

MARY M. MACKEN.

III.—Schoolboy Evangelists

BY THOMAS D. ROBERTS, S.J.

The problem of educating a truly "Catholic mind" has long been recognised as acute, and has exercised the minds of all who are concerned with stemming "leakage" and imparting religious instruction whether in primary, secondary or university schools. It has called forth much of the best Catholic educational effort on both sides of the Atlantic—witness our English "Sower" and Dr. MacEachen's religious doctrine course in America,—whilst the promoters of the wonderfully successful retreat movement in Holland and Germany, the leaders of the Catholic reaction in France and Italy insist equally on the crying need of a Catholic mentality strong enough to resist an atmosphere generally dangerous and too often fatal to it. From this angle we propose to consider a recent development of Catholic Evidence work which we believe to be a helpful contribution to the problem.

The first school to found a branch of the "Catholic Evidence Guild" was Stonyhurst. As it was largely owing to the success of the experiment conducted there that other school guilds have been founded since, and as full details concerning the pioneer Guild are available in a pamphlet by two of its members,[1] we shall take the Stonyhurst Guild—now in the sixth year of its existence—as the basis of our remarks, supplementing them from an experience of some eighteen months with the Guild of Beaumont College, Windsor.

Theoretically, the purpose of a school C.E.G. is quite distinct from that of a diocesan or town guild; the latter exists to enable Catholic speakers (chiefly lay folk) to teach the Faith to the largest possible number here and now in the open air, whilst the former is chiefly concerned with and perhaps confined to the formation of its members. In practice, however, these two ends are so intimately connected that it is necessary to recall here something of the methods of the diocesan guilds. Of these, some 13 in England and Wales had, by September of last year, trained 526 effective speakers and established 101 "pitches"; the Archdioceses of Westminster and Liverpool have between them no less than 240 of these trained speakers. Naturally the organisation of such guilds in the large industrial areas differs in several respects from that of the smaller ones such as Portsmouth, but all have

[1] *Schools and the Evidence Guild.* By Henry John and T. F. Burns. Introductory Section by F. Sheed. (Catholic Truth Society of England).

in common: (1) the *object* of teaching the Faith to the non-Catholic masses from outdoor platforms wherever possible; (2) a regular system of *training speakers* for this work; (3) a regular system of *testing* the same by priests and laymen appointed by the Ordinary, who gives the commission to speak on the subjects of the texts passed, or, in the case of certain "senior speakers," to speak on several subjects according to their capacity. From these last are selected the chairmen of meetings, who control the proceedings at the pitches and answer the general questions put to junior speakers.

Obviously, then, the vital needs of every guild centre round recruiting and training, and it is here that the school comes in. Where the bishops themselves have called in these *diocesan catechists* (the canonical name and justification of lay speakers) to teach the multitudes who are beyond the reach of their priests, when this work is being visibly blessed and the need of extending it becoming ever more urgent, how shall those hold aloof who have from God the special opportunities afforded by a good education, intellectual, moral and physical?

The school guild exists, then, because it is needed to extend and improve the lay evangelisation of England. It is not, however, with that aspect of the question, important as it is, that the present article is directly concerned, but with the relation of the school guild to the "Catholic Mentality" problem. Evidence of the care devoted to the subject is to be found in the regulations of the Holy See and of the English Bishops governing the attendance of Catholics at universities, also in the recommendations of the Catholic Headmasters' Conferences. Summed up, all such directions amount to a renewed insistence on the paramount importance of religious instruction, so imparted as to obtain real, not merely notional, assent, real enough moreover to make the supernatural the very mainspring of Catholic lives in a world which denies or ignores its existence.

The traditional Catholic method of securing a real grip of dogmatic truth is to make the learner expound and defend it. This basic principle of the Scholastic method, as the Church applies it to train her priests, enshrines and enthrones, as no other system can, *the arousing of interest.* In conflict with heresy for two thousand years, the Church has not merely used error as the occasion for the development of truth, but she has harnessed error to her own chariot. She knows that the human mind is made for truth, has consequently an instinct to combat error, and that this instinct needs training and guiding, something

on which to sharpen its mental teeth. Here, then, is the first essential feature of school guild work, that boys learn with a view to teaching, arguing, convincing. The question now remains, "*Can* they so teach?" for presumably no one will question that one who can teach well must have learnt well. That they do teach openly in the public streets and parks is now a fact; that they teach, for the most part, really well, with credit to the Church and to themselves, is vouched for by the priests who have tested and passed them, by the crowds who listen to them, by the experienced laymen who preside over their efforts, by the bishops who commission and encourage them.

Let us start with the crowds. There are, as we have said, some thirty pitches conducted by the Westminster Guild alone, and there are few if any of these which have not been visited by boy speakers of Stonyhurst. The report sent by the boys to the Inter-Guild Conference held at York last November stated that the speeches made in London, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham during the holidays (the only time open to Stonyhurst boys) totalled 51, made by 17 speakers: last year marked the highest development, the grand total of public speeches by boys still at the school standing then at something over 200. It should be added that Stonyhurst boys have founded new branches of the C.E.G. after leaving the school, and have been the life and soul of others.

In one respect the Guild established at Beaumont some eighteen months ago has an advantage over the elder sister. The situation of Beaumont, lying as it does within easy reach of London, has enabled effective contact to be established with the Westminster Guild. The form which this contact was at first intended to take was the establishment of a pitch near by at Staines to which boys might go, not to speak but to learn from experienced London speakers. It was thought—by the writer at least—that although a crowd might be willing to listen to and learn from a boy speaker occasionally, it would certainly not tolerate a regular succession of them at the Sunday evening meetings. As a matter of fact these fears have proved groundless, and the experiment of having an occasional boy speaker has succeeded so well that one or other of the senior boys now speaks every Sunday during term. As the principal speaker and chairman is a Beaumont master, either a priest or a layman fully qualified by a Westminster chairman's licence, the pitch at Staines may be truly said to be committed to the School Guild. Both the Cardinal Archbishop and the Parish Priest of Staines have expressed their satisfaction with the work

done there. The boys, conscious of the responsibility committed to them, have made the interests of this pitch their principal care, the Committee devising schemes which include advertisement in the local paper, distribution of C.T.S. leaflets and pamphlets at the pitch, and so forth.

The Staines pitch has, like most of the others, a marked individuality of its own. It was rather alarming at first to discover that the chief element in this crowd was the nonconformist Bible-reading one. The Beaumont boy is not, it must be confessed, better equipped than the average Catholic public-school boy in knowledge of the Bible, and the situation seemed to offer a glorious hunting-ground for the professional heckler, who is never far away. The Guild has met this danger partly by specialising on "The Church and the Bible" as a subject for study and tests, partly by insisting in all the training and in the tests that the Catholic Rule of Faith be thoroughly understood and clearly exposed by every speaker. Thus the heckler's dream of wrangling over texts, wasting time and exposing ignorance has been rudely shattered, and he finds his learned citations made the occasion of vigorous exposure of the contradictions inseparable from "private judgment,"—just the insistence on Authority, which the crowd needs and for which the "text" heckler gives an admirable opening. All this is done with courtesy, good temper, exact attention to the point (the question must always be repeated before it is answered), frank admission of ignorance by reference to the chairman; last, but not least, with not a little humour—as when a boy, asked why priests feared the Bible, answered that priests have to read the Bible for an hour a day or go to Hell! All this has won over the crowd, which often supports the speaker against excessive heckling; apathetic Catholics are being impressed and awakened, prejudice is gradually lessening, genuine seekers after truth are asking intelligent questions, the poor have the Gospel preached to them.

For two terms considerable numbers of boys went every Sunday to London, generally to Regent's Park or Victoria Park. At the last-named the Chairman noted particularly good effects, one boy especially holding together and controlling a mixed and often difficult crowd. Of late, however, the London pitches have been almost given up in favour of Reading, in the Portsmouth Diocese. Here is an exceedingly promising pitch, where the crowd had grown so large and interested that protests were raised when it was announced that sickness among speakers and other causes might necessitate withdrawal. An appeal was made to the boys

of Beaumont, who at once decided, with the full concurrence of the school authorities, to send speakers at least on alternate Sundays.

The third diocese in which the Guild is now operating is that of Northampton, the Bishop having expressed his confidence that the first pitch to be opened in his diocese—at Slough, within easy reach of the College—will be well established and conducted by Beaumont boys until such time as local speakers can be trained.

The not inconsiderable details of travel, correspondence, etc., connected with this outdoor work are divided among the officials of the Committee, a body elected by the whole Guild. This brings us to the interior organisation and training, and to the testimony of masters as to the effect of the work upon the boys.

The membership at Stonyhurst is about 40, at Beaumont—a considerably smaller school—about 30. At the latter, the time-table created difficulties for training which nearly proved fatal; in the event the boys themselves asked and obtained leave to use the time on Saturday evenings, when they are free either to study or go to bed. Although the great majority, tired after a hard afternoon of games, had hitherto gone to bed at the earlier hour, attendance at the C.E.G. groups has remained uniformly good ever since the beginning. This neither the writer nor, apparently, anybody else had expected in their most sanguine moments, and the fact that the boys should have done it is extremely instructive.

It stands to reason that they do not come in the spirit of martyrdom. Some few come because their friends do, others from a spirit of adventure, no small number with some genuine zeal awakened by an appeal to do and give, but *all* of them drawn in varying degrees by the consciousness that C.E.G. is *interesting*. The Guild would die in a week if it lost either its voluntary character or its vital grip on interest. Hence the numbers (seven or eight in each group), the allocation of boys to groups (the writer despaired of this, and leaves it wholly to elected "group-leaders"), the meetings held not in schoolrooms, but in masters' rooms—all these and every detail aim at making religious instruction as absorbing and remote from school routine as possible.

The unit of training is the Group, which meets once (sometimes twice) weekly in a master's room. The subjects chosen ("Externals of Worship," "Marks of the Church," "Church and Bible," "Our Lady," "Confession," etc.) are the easier ones, and will have been studied already in ordinary classes. This means that the master need do little lecturing, and will teach

crowd-management chiefly by the heckling from his own boys—which is seldom lacking. Two or three boys speak, others heckle, methods are discussed, criticisms made—these very frank—questions dealt with by the master. The immediate objective will be either a speech in the playground, where he will compete with another speaker striving simultaneously to gather the same crowd, or a test. This last involves appearance before three priests, who hear the speech, heckle, and put any question which the candidate may reasonably be expected to answer. He will be ruthlessly rejected if he attempt to answer questions off his subject or out of his depth: these must be referred to the chairman.

As an instance of the astonishing grip the Guild wins over boys and the progress they make with its training, it may be recalled here that one boy was not only rejected by the three examiners, but gave the impression that he *never* could make a public speech. After a few months that boy came up again for the same test, passed, and gave one of the most successful speeches ever heard at Staines. Another boy, who once all but decided to give up the Guild on account of his shyness, has come up *eight* times for tests (failing in three of them!), has gathered a little library of his own, has spoken seven times during the holidays in three weeks, and is the terror of the Committee if his name is ever omitted from the speakers' list.

The matter of reading for speeches is in the hands of the elected Guild Librarian; he or a colleague looks after the C.T.S. Box which, at Stonyhurst, stocks the publications of the Irish as well as the English C.T.S., the Paulist Press of America, and provides some thirty copies of Catholic papers weekly. Last year this Stonyhurst Box made sufficient profit by sales to subsidise the fine Guild Library, which contains the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* and the usual books of reference. In connection with the Forward Movement of the English C.T.S. and a suggestion of lectures in schools on the subject, the Beaumont Librarian sent a letter to the Catholic Press proving by figures the small initial cost of a box, and suggesting that boys and girls might not want to hear about one but would certainly *run* one if given the chance.

As regards the testimony of masters to the value of the work, the highest is probably the willingness of so many priests to shoulder the serious responsibility of passing the boys for public speaking—they are not blind to the dangers, either real or supposed, still less are the authorities, who have to think of the

credit of the school. Of the more detailed criticisms, I must confine myself to two, the first from a Beaumont lay master, a convert of Oxford, whose untiring devotion to the training of the boys is his best testimony to its worth. Of the boys in his own group he has written: ". . . One can only comment on their amazing keenness and good humour. . . they help each other with their speeches, and they themselves asked for a second meeting in the week, this to be during their recreation. . . . The C.E.G. has awakened a lively interest in their religion, and has given them valuable practice in the logical arrangement and expression of their thoughts." My second quotation comes with the weight of an experience of six years of the Guild as Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst. Writing of the Guild, of which he has now assumed the personal direction, he says: "The C.E.G makes a strong appeal to the militant side of boy-nature, and goes on to develop in its members a first sense of intellectual appropriation of their religion. Were this all, no educator could ignore it; but when we consider the course of reading and training it induces boys to undertake of their own accord, the powers of exposition it develops among them, and the intensely personal interest it excites, I confess for my part to regarding the C.E.G. as one of the most intellectually elevating, wholesome and happy developments of Catholic life in our schools."[1]

It only remains to add that the experience of certain other schools in England and Australia where the outdoor developments described above are not possible justifies the C.E.G. principles as a *method* of *teaching* at least. How far and with what modifications the C.E.G. may serve in Irish schools its purpose religious and educational is a problem which the writer leaves, with confidence, to the reader.

T. D. Roberts.

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[1] Rev. L. Bellanti, S.J. in *The Month*, Feb., 1926.

REVIEWS

Anthropology

THE CORRIDORS OF TIME. Vol. I.: Apes and Men; Vol. II.: Hunters and Artists. By Harold Peake and Herbert John Fleure. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. 5s. net each.

ORIGINE ET EVOLUTION DE L'HOMME. Par Georges Goury. Paris: Auguste Picard. 1928. 35 fr.

Those who undertake the popularisation of physical science for the benefit of the general reader assume a trust which demands full and scrupulous performance. They have the general reader at their mercy. It is surely time that the childish vanities of "the Victorian era" were plainly discarded, time to abandon the pretence that the advances of physical science have solved the riddle of the universe, time to proclaim, especially to the unarmed general reader, that every discovery and every advance has the inevitable effect of deepening and intensifying the wonder and the mystery of the physical world. To recognise this explicitly is to publish truth and to avoid a grave deception. Still more, if the aim is to educate, this is to adopt a sound method and put aside a bad one. A mighty educator and a master intellect long ago perceived that wonder is the parent of knowledge. It is bad education to use physical science as an anaesthetic and to expound it in opiate formulae calculated to deaden perception and to conceal from the general reader the ever-growing wonder of the universe.

In two compact volumes, addressed to "the general reader," Messrs. Peake and Fleure undertake to show how, by a process of evolution, Man has arrived at the position in which history finds him. The story begins with a lifeless Earth, subject even throughout its surface to immense and violent changes. At length, as a result of these changes, the surface of the Earth becomes fitted to be the receptacle of Life. It has not occurred to the writers to point out, if indeed to imagine, the wonder of this receptacle and of its fitness. If one of those globes which represent the Earth in schoolrooms were covered with varnish, so that the depth of the film of varnish was about one thousandth part of the diameter of the globe, this film would represent the abode of Life. It is a familiar metaphor to speak of living on

the surface of a volcano. Life, as we know it, is supported on the surface of a volcanic mass by a web of gauze. The wonder of this life-sustaining film is not exhausted by the consideration of its exiguous extent. Its physical conditions show a delicate equilibrium maintained throughout all the ages of Life, so delicate indeed that a relatively slight disturbance at any time during those ages would have left the Earth once more lifeless. Let us consider just one of these conditions. The variations of temperature in the physical world are measured by thousands of degrees. A variation of a hundred degrees in the temperature of our film would make Life incapable of function. Thus a succession of apparently chaotic changes at length results in a receptacle so delicately formed and conditioned, in which Life, as known to physical science, is possible. Then, wonder of wonders, Life arrives.

An induction as complete as any known to science leads to a conclusion as firm as any conclusion of the physicist and to a "law" as universal as any of the "laws of nature," that Life proceeds always from Life, never from Unlife. The preparation of this filmy receptacle for Life is a wonder. The maintenance of its fitness to sustain Life is a wonder. The arrival of Life is a wonder. Life itself is not less a wonder. Inanimate matter appears purely passive, seeking nothing, resisting nothing. Life appears endowed with an inherent activity, seeking that which tends to increase and perpetuate it, resisting that which tends to weaken and destroy it. The evolutionary theory discovers in it another marvellous power, the capacity for variation and development, not working indifferently and chaotically but with a pre-defined direction from "lower" to "higher" forms. We are invited to protect ourselves against the danger of mystery and wonder by the injection of a suitable anaesthetic formula. The various kinds of Life, we are told, are able to persist and develop in proportion as they are "viable." "Viable, a term meaning 'capable of maintaining its life or the life of its kind,' is used here in preference to the much controverted word 'fit'" (*Apes and Men*, p. 31). In fact, living things and living species persist because they are able to persist. This kind of formula has little value as a generalisation, means no addition to knowledge, but has a distinct anti-educative effect in so far as it may persuade the general reader that something which was hitherto a mystery to him, if he thought about it, has now been satisfactorily explained. In the story of evolution, as unfolded to us, the Crustaceans appear at a very early stage, the Mammals at

a very late stage. If the general reader does some gardening, he finds his efforts thwarted sometimes by cats, sometimes by woodlice. He will have little difficulty in learning that, in the matter of viability, the cat owes the persistence of its kind to the favour and protection of Man, whereas the woodlouse, though its society does not appeal to the sentiment of even one old maid, lives, persists, thrives, and multiplies in spite of Man or Woman. The cat is a mammal, the woodlouse a crustaccan. The woodlouse justifies its Irish name, míol críonna, by adhering to the Lower Palaeozoic fashion and resisting every temptation to evolve into a Cainozoic cat.

The story of the evolutionary process leads up to Man, the apex of the process in time and in kind. Not merely the apex but the master, by possession of intelligence and imagination, of purpose and moral sense, seated, as in these very volumes, in judgment and authority over all the rest. If the general reader is inclined to wonder why, his wonder is dispelled by the assurance that all is satisfactorily explained by the angle between man's vertebral column and the terrestrial horizon.

Though mystery and wonder evoke a certain sense of delight and a keen desire to learn, they evoke also a contrary sense of pain and repugnance because they humiliate us. Hatred of humiliation in matters of knowledge always tends to keep us ignorant. The two volumes in English would gain in educative value if they adopted one page from M. Goury :—

Allant plus loin, non seulement lorsque l'on considère l'évolution générale des êtres, l'Homme s' insère morphologiquement et chronologiquement dans le faisceau des Primates, mais il semble former le couronnement de l'évolution même, tous les êtres ne paraissent avoir évolué que pour aboutir à sa formation ; dans un infime vertébré, l'Homme était déjà préparé ; quand il paraît, il ne fait que prendre la place naturelle qu' appelait le dessein général de l'Univers.

Cependant une nouvelle question se pose : à partir de quel moment l'Homme existera-t-il en tant qu' Homme ?

Ici la réponse semble facile, c'est lorsque nous rencontrerons cet être évolué en possession de cette ψυχη qui le distingue des animaux dont il a gardé la structure, en possession de l'Intelligence. On peut même dire que cette intelligence fut le facteur suprême qui réalisa la pleine évolution de l'Homme. Et, phénomène digne de remarque, cette intelligence, dès qu'il est possible de la saisir, est *une* dans l'éloignement des temps ; l'homme la possède en puissance, telle aux époques les plus reculées qu'il peut s'en enorgueillir aujourdhui. A tous les âges, l'intelligence humaine apparaît susceptible d'atteindre, sous l'influence du milieu, au plus parfait développement, jusqu' au Génie. Nous verrons, par exemple, les peintres des cavernes paléolithiques égaler en réalisme les meilleurs artistes animaliers de notre temps. *Il semble que nous assistions à une évolution de la matière, mais nulle part à celle de l'esprit.*

E. MACN.

Protestant Apologetics

ADVENTURE. The Faith of Science and the Science of Faith. By B. H. Streeter, M.A., D.D., F.B.A.; C. Chilcott, M.A.; J. MacMurry, M.C., M.A.; A. Russell, M.C., M.A., D.Sc. London: Macmillan. 1927. Pp. 247. 7s. 6d.

This book consists of six essays on the nature of science and religion written by a week-end conference group at Oxford. Canon Streeter, who contributes the introduction and two essays, tells us that "adventure" is the unifying idea of the book; that it suggests a method of reconciling religion and science; and that it is both a sequel to his book *Reality*, as well as the resumption after a long break of his earlier series of books, *Concerning Prayer*, *Immortality* and *The Spirit*. Hence, while not forgetting that each writer is responsible for his own views in the last resort, it does not seem unfair to regard Canon Streeter as the leading spirit in this effort at corporate thinking on the nature of science and religion, and to determine the general outlook of the group from his essays.

We wonder whether Canon Streeter would object to being called a modernist. As Reader in Christian Origins at Oxford he may not protest; as a Canon of Hereford he may. Nevertheless we do not know how else to describe his method. Modernism is the art of maintaining orthodox formulæ while emptying them of their dogmatic content. A modernist is no hearty pagan who will demolish a creed or a council every day, and will contradict anyone, even himself. The modernist is more adroit and sophisticated. He is not so crude as to affirm roundly, "Christ is not God." His method is rather so to manipulate the subject and predicate of the proposition that when he *says* "Christ is God," he really *means* something else, possibly the contradictory.

Thus Canon Streeter asks whether it is more true to speak of Christ as "God made man" or as "man made God." He replies that the controversy is a barren one; that "neither is the more or the less exacting of belief. Both are equally symbolic . . . ." (p. 144). To the question "Does Christ differ from other men in kind, or merely in degree?" he answers that every man differs from every other in kind and not merely in degree. Hence, argues Canon Streeter, Napoleon, Newton and St. Francis differ in kind; and "this difference in kind between any one of these and Christ is even greater; and may possess an import which has world significance as uniquely illuminating

the nature of the 'over-personality' of God." (p. 148). What the symbolic significance of the propositions "God made man" and "man made God" is we do not know; neither do we understand how man and man can differ generically; nor what is meant by saying that the generic difference between Christ and Napoleon is greater than the generic difference between Napoleon and St. Francis. Finally, "may possess" is deliberatedly guarded. It leaves the way open for the discussion of the last question in the essay: Is Christianity final? Canon Streeter is not sure. He prefers to take it as a hypothesis to be tested "in will and work and prayer." If it does not prove final, at any rate it will be "the highway to [a synthesis] of such grandeur that to-day it cannot enter into the heart of man to conceive" (p. 176). In other words it's final or it isn't—a singularly economical conclusion for a Canon of Hereford.

Take the question of hell (p. 56 ff.). Canon Streeter will not affirm "There is no hell" in so many words. But notice how he can make the proposition "Hell exists" mean just that. First of all, he rejects "the mediaeval idea of hell as both ridiculous and immoral." Next, as "no one . . . . who has thought seriously about a future life can for a moment suppose that in the next world, *if there be such*,[1] it is all one whether this life has been basely or nobly lived," Canon Streeter feels that he must provide an alternative. Such an alternative he finds in the endless chain of consequences that follow on bad action in this life, and, "*if personality survive the grave at all*,"[1] in the next. This suppositious hell looks a fairly comfortable place for hypothetical souls. If the Canon's friends feel the need of strong language, they will find little satisfaction in telling a man to go to hell.

We could cite many other passages of a typically modernist outlook, but the foregoing must suffice. Canon Streeter's opinions are, of course, his own, especially when they are false. But his method is not pleasing. His language is the language of diplomacy, war communiqués and parliamentary replies. It often conceals more than it reveals. Its reticences are more important than its affirmations. There is some satisfaction in having a quarrel in the light of the sun with resounding pagans like Nietzsche or Haeckel. When we know what they say we know what they mean. But with Canon Streeter one enters a twilight

[1] Italics ours. Canon Streeter likes to intercalate a condition of this kind. It serves, as far as we can judge, as a sort of insurance against a lapse into orthodoxy.

world of vague concepts and metaphors, half affirmations, conditional and disjunctive propositions, innuendo, reticences, relativism and scepticism.

The other essays have points of interest but not of permanent value. They are not as " adventurous " as Canon Streeter's ; but the difference is one of degree. Altogether we see no hope for a reconciliation of supernatural religion and science on the basis of a progressive identification of their formal objects.

D. S. N.

Biography

PREPOSITINI CANCELLARII PARISIENSIS OPERA OMNIA. I.—La Vie et les Oeuvres de Prévostin. Par Georges Lacombe, Ph.D. Kain (Belgique) : Le Saulchoir. 1927. 25 fr.

The *Bibliothèque Thomiste*, under the direction of Père Mandonnet, O.P., continues to render good service to the cause of scholastic philosophy and theology by its critical editions of mediaeval texts. *La Vie et les Oeuvres de Prévostin* is the first of two volumes which Dr. G. Lacombe devotes to a study of the hitherto little known Chancellor of Paris (1206-1210), usually styled Prepositinus Cremonensis. It contains a biography (46 pages), followed by a critical appraisement (156 pages) of the MS. authority, authenticity, general content, place and date of composition of the works attributed to Prepositinus. The second volume, in preparation, is to be a critical text of these works.

Forty-six pages may seem a meagre biography to have gleaned from the libraries of Europe by an exhaustive research into the career of one who, at the opening of the thirteenth century, was unquestionably one of the luminaries of the University of Paris. Yet it must be confessed that Prepositinus was largely outshone by the galaxy of more brilliant Summarists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and few historical records of him now survive. We therefore welcome this attempt to revive the memory of a master who has the honour of being frequently quoted by Albert the Great and St. Thomas, and who is ranked by the contemporary Otto of St. Blasien with Peter the Chanter and Alan of Lille.

A strong tradition makes Cremona his birthplace, but of his early years and even his family name nothing is known. Dr. Lacombe is able definitely to place him at Mayence in 1194, where he was installed by Conrad, the Archbishop, as " Major Scholasticus " or Head Canon in charge of the cathedral schools of that

important centre. Dr. Lacombe throws interesting light from contemporary documents on the functions of this type of official in the Middle Ages.

The most striking of these four biographical chapters is that on the schism in the See of Mayence following on the death of Conrad in 1200. To appreciate fully the extraordinary conduct of Prepositinus in this crisis it should be remembered that six months previously he had acted as papal judge *a latere* for Innocent III in the trial and excommunication of Conrad, bishop of Hildesheim, who had illegally attempted to acquire the See of Würtzburg. Upon the death of Conrad of Mayence, Philip of Suabia, then contending for the Empire, visited the city, and coerced the Chapter into electing Liupold bishop of Worms to the vacant See. A small minority of the Chapter quitted the city, counter-elected Siffrid of Eppenstein, and sent an appeal to the Pope. Liupold's party also sent a deputation to Rome, and Prepositinus, fresh from the excommunication of the bishop of Hildesheim, had the amazing temerity to place himself at the head of it. As Dr. Lacombe remarks, " Ce sont des problèmes psychologiques qu'on ne peut guère se hasarder à expliquer." (p. 33). Innocent III's action, as may be imagined, was strong. He annulled the election of Liupold, confirmed that of Siffrid, excommunicated the Chapter, and gave Prepositinus, in a remarkably severe letter, a month to decide between submission to Siffrid and excommunication at his hands.

This disaster terminated the office of the " major in Moguntino scholasticus," but it did not, strange to say, ruin his public career. Three years later the clouds roll away, and " Master Prepositinus named Chancellor of Paris " re-appears, charged (by the same Pope) with a pontifical commission, that of judge-delegate in the diocese of Chartres, which he retained thoughout his residence in Paris.

Of his Chancellorship of the greatest school in Europe, recently constituted a University, in which he was the first to take the oath of residence, suffice it to say that his Faculty of Theology numbered such illustrious names as Stephen Langton, Robert de Courçon, Peter of Capua, Thomas Gallo, and probably Alexander of Halès. The fact that his own *Summa Theologica* continued to be copied till the fifteenth century is evidence that he enjoyed considerable theological repute in the golden era of scholasticism.

P. HEALY.

JOHN GERSON: REFORMER AND MYSTIC. By Rev. J. L. Connolly, M.A., Docteur en Sciences Historiques (Lovan.). London: Herder. 1928. 8s. 6d.

THIS very interesting volume is No. 12 of the second series of works published at Louvain by members of the Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie. Father Connolly has turned out a fine piece of work, excellently documented and full of life. He has a fine biographical talent. The famous Chancellor of the University of Paris comes to life again under his pen. We get a living breathing picture of the man, not only as ecclesiastical statesman, the soul of that council of Constance which put an end to the Great Schism of the West, the ardent apostle of reform who spoke unwelcome truths to the mighty ones in Church and State, a tribune of the poor and the oppressed; but we also see the man of prayer, the pastor of souls, the model parish priest, the catechist, the spiritual director, in a word, the man of God. But we get more than a full length portrait of Gerson, we get a splendid picture of his times. Strange epoch when the Church saw three claimants to the Papacy and not even the saints then living were agreed as to which was the true Pope. And France and all Christendom was in confusion, when the people wandered as sheep without a shepherd, when crime was unrebuked, nay excused and approved by grave doctors. Small wonder that the common folk thought that the end of the world had come. The outworks of the city of God had been rudely shaken.

The first part of the present volume deals with Gerson's labours to save Christendom from collapse, his outward activities as an ecclesiastical statesman and reformer of abuses; the second part shows us the inward sources of his strength, his life of prayer and contemplation, his work as a mystical theologian. Like the first part it is well documented, but the writer seems to me to deal better with the activities of Martha than with the more hidden energies of Mary. He is excellent in his treatment of all that concerns the ascetical aspects of Gerson's doctrine, but he seems to me to rather miss the point wherever he deals with mysticism proper as distinct from its pre-mystical stages. Perhaps I am hypercritical, yet I seem to see some confusion between Father Connolly's ideas of affective prayer and mystical contemplation in the strict sense of St. John of the Cross. Gerson himself I believe was quite clear on the matter and in no wise confused the two states; but his language is open to various interpretations, for he was translating subtle psychological observations into the terminology of scholastic metaphysics. The psychology of all

the great Schoolmen was essentially a branch of metaphysics, we must re-translate their dicta to get a proper sense of their introspections and so read their writings as one of their contemporaries would have done. But it is unfair to carp at Father Connolly, for he gives us ample documents from which we can form our own views if we choose to do so.

Father Connolly does not deal with the political theories of Gerson, as that point is being otherwise dealt with. We cannot but regret the omission in view of some very interesting quotations he gives us en route as to Gerson's views on the deposition of rulers. We can only hope that whoever deals with this aspect of Gerson's thought, will do so as capably as Father Connolly has dealt with his own chosen ground. JOHN HOWLEY.

OLIVER CROMWELL. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Benn. 1927. 6d.

CROMWELL. A Character Study. By John Drinkwater. London: Hodder and Stoughton. [1928]. 2s. 6d. net.

OLIVER CROMWELL. By G. R. Stirling Taylor. London: Cape. 1928. 12s. 6d. net.

JAMES THE SECOND. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Faber and Gwyer. 1928. 15s. net.

THE success of Mussolini and Primo de Rivera and the situation in France have naturally turned men's thoughts everywhere to unrepresentative government. Hence no less than three lives of Cromwell in a few months, and after them Belloc's Life of James II. Both men were what would nowadays be called "executors of the people's will" and stood out against parliaments that represented only a fraction of the nation. Both stood for a policy of tolerance (though Cromwell excluded Catholics from it, as beyond the pale) and both promoted the greatness of England, just as our modern unconstitutionalists are doing in their respective countries.

Of the three lives of Cromwell, that by John Drinkwater is the most refreshing as being furthest from fact, and most in accordance with accepted notions. Drinkwater's Cromwell is very satisfying, the Cromwell of Macaulay and Carlyle, the sort of person you expect, the hero of non-conformity. His settlement of Ireland is defended on the ground that England had otherwise been reduced to a third-class power, a reason scarcely satisfactory to us Irish.

Belloc's Cromwell is nearer the truth. A successful hypocrite,

an unsuccessful statesman, a supremely good cavalry officer. Perhaps he writes with some bias from the Catholic point of view, but then Cromwell has seldom been written of from that point of view before. It is only a sketch, but very entertaining. The work that makes the greatest effort to be absolutely fair is the life by G. R. Stirling Taylor. He displays the character in all his nakedness with a vengeance, and the effect is as unsatisfactory as a picture of a naked Cromwell would be in real life, as repulsive as phonetic spelling for instance. The mind is repelled by a presentation of character without some of the accustomed clothing of romance and history. Like Belloc, he insists much on the confiscated Catholic land on which the Cromwells had grown fat and presents to us much the same picture of the inspired hypocrite, the man who always saw red and saw right in a crisis, but could never see clearly in any ordinary matter of state. Yet somehow this book errs in its cynicism. The cynical method which embraces the crusaders and Cromwell's army of saints in a like depreciatory judgment, somehow fails in its effects. It misses the one thing that really counts in the case of Cromwell, his greatness.

This is precisely the quality that Belloc's *James II* does not miss. Right or wrong, and it seems very right, it brings out the moral greatness of the man, a thing hidden by English historians so far.

His picture of James is marvellous. A frequent fornicator and adulterer in his youth (it is indicated in pretty plain terms what William, his successful rival, was), he becomes a saint and a very martyr for toleration in his later life. An able admiral, a tremendous organiser, he had created the British navy in his time. But of a " civil service " type of mind, he was incapable of realising deceit in others, including his own children, or of being influenced by the opinions of others. He saw what was right and did it, to his own destruction. A picture of such dignity and pathos has seldom been drawn by any writer and will come with most surprise to Irishmen, who have been accustomed to apply to the last Stuart king an opprobrious epithet.

A. E. C.

COMMODORE VANDERBILT. By Arthur D. Howden Smith. London: Philip Allan. 1928. 336 pages. 21s.

This book is written like a novel. We get verbatim the soliloquies and intimate conversations of the chief characters, and they never talk or think in any language except a very lively slang.

The author gives no reference to any of his sources of information, and it is obvious that he has drawn freely on his imagination. The book might be read as a novel, and it is far more readable than many works of fiction. Yet to the present reviewer it rings true. The author seems to have reached very near to the essential truth about the man who was one of the master-builders of modern America.

Cornelius Vanderbilt was born before the end of the eighteenth century, and he lived until the fourth quarter of the nineteenth. He started life from the very bottom, without capital and without education, and died with more than a hundred million dollars, acquired for the most part not by speculation or the profits of monopoly but by building up businesses in the teeth of the fiercest competition. If half of what is said in this book is true, Mars may slay his thousands but Mammon his tens of thousands. One can hardly recall a war in history more hellish than the ruthless struggles of Big Business in the United States during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. Nor is there any reason to believe that industrial and commercial competition is on any higher plane to-day in any of the world's great business centres.

Cornelius Vanderbilt's is an honoured name in financial history; for he was really a builder, not a mere manipulator of markets. He had vision regarding material developments as one who stands on the mountain tops, he had volcanic energy and courage that never knew what it was to be daunted. Yet to read his life is to be reminded of the legends of men who sold their souls to the Devil. Vanderbilt sacrificed everything to money. When he was saving three thousand dollars a year, he kept his wife slaving for him and their young children without the help of a servant. When he had gained a still more remunerative position, he exiled his wife with the children to Canada to take over a dilapidated tavern and work it up into a good hotel. When there were ten children, one of them unborn, he dragged her back to New York and crowded the whole family into a squalid tenement. At this time he owned a fleet of steamships and already counted his dollars in millions, but he was not yet ready to spare any of his capital for the comfort of his family. His servantless wife had to toil and stint like that of the poorest labourer. Vanderbilt did all that years of heartlessness and selfishness could do to drive a wife to madness. Because she came to have outbursts of weeping with threats of suicide he had her committed to an asylum. He was a very rich man at this time, and only six

years later he was boasting that he had eleven million dollars invested to yield 25 per cent. His riches were never anything but a curse to his wife, and they occasioned feuds and litigation among generations of his descendants. His operations in Nicaragua plunged that country into war and earned for the United States the undying hostility of Latin America.

But Vanderbilt never had moral doubts about himself. He was a strong man who used his strength for his own purposes, honest purposes according to his lights, and he cared nothing for the weak who went to the wall. The wall was the only place for the weak. This is the character of the founder of the Vanderbilt dynasty as portrayed by Mr. Howden Smith. We may doubt whether Cornelius or any other human being in a Christian country could ever be quite so free from moral questionings. The old millionaire dabbled with spiritism for a time, and in his last years became faintly religious. A great man, as the world measures greatness, a Napoleon of industry, but a Catholic reader of this book is inclined to ask of the wealth-getting civilisation which Cornelius Vanderbilt represents: *What doth it profit?*

H. Somerville.

JORGENSEN. An Autobiography. Translated from the Danish by Ingeborg Lund. London: Sheed and Ward. 1928. 10s. 6d.

Johannes Jörgensen is a Danish writer and convert to the Catholic Church, known in these countries chiefly for his Life of Saint Francis of Assisi, a book on Lourdes, and *Pilgrim Walks in Franciscan Italy*, but author as well of a long series of other works—poems, novels, books of travel, a history of Danish literature, and numberless contributions in Danish, German, French, and Italian to the periodical literature of the Continent.

Here we have the story of his life, or rather of the development of his mind, for outward happenings are few. It is in the main the story of how, slowly and painfully, he groped his way out of the mists of pantheism and naturalism, out of tangled woods of prejudice and doubt and difficulty into the clear air and open ground of the Catholic faith. The close of this volume leaves him still hesitating on the outskirts of the wood, his mind still full of Protestant prejudices on the one hand and on the other of yearnings for the old life of nature worship with its freedom from all intellectual and moral trammels, save such as he might care to impose upon himself. The murky lights of his youth—Nietzsche, Baudelaire, Taine, and Tolstoi, had ceased to lead

him, but as yet no star of Catholic truth shone clear enough upon his intellectual horizon to guide him home—unless, indeed, we may count as such the uncertain brilliance of Ernest Hello or the meteoric glare of Léon Bloy. But we leave him at Assisi with two Catholic friends—the young Danish convert of Jewish origin, Mogens Ballin, and Padre Felice, a Dutch Franciscan. His feet are on the straight road, though he knows it not.

Jörgensen reveals himself as essentially a poet, a littérateur, almost a dreamer, accustomed to live in a world of sensation and impression, rather than of reasoning. In the evolution of his thought, in his gradual orientation towards the Church, there is little or no clear thinking, no firm acceptance of logical conclusions. Yet conviction came at last.

The narrative derives exceptional charm from the background of nature, ever present and drawn by one who day after day drank in avidly the beauty of light and shade, colour and line, who had learned

> "to look upon the hills with tenderness
> And make dear friendship with the woods and fields . . . ."

So good is the translation that one is never reminded that it is a translation: it reads as a beautiful piece of original English.

S. J. B.

Celtica

IRISH SYLLABIC POETRY, 1200-1600. By Eleanor Knott. Cork: University Press; Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland. 1928. 3s. 6d. net.

UP to about a dozen years ago practically the whole mass of Bardic Poetry, the chief literary product of Ireland from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, was stowed away in manuscripts utterly unknown to all but a few specialist scholars. Since then, though a considerable amount of it has been printed and edited, it is to be found only in scattered journals (notably STUDIES and *The Irish Monthly*) or else in expensive volumes such as those of the Irish Texts Society. In this book Miss Knott, following the example of T. F. O'Rahilly and Father P. Walsh, has placed some specimens of Bardic Poetry within the reach of the general body of Irish students. Provided with an exhaustive vocabulary, many annotations, and a very full account of Bardic metres, her book is intended as an introduction to a wider study of this class of poetry. As it comes from the hand which edited *Tadhg Dall's Poems* the trustworthiness of its scholarship is guaranteed.

If Irish people were as much inclined to read Irish as they are to talking about it they would give a hearty welcome to this book which not merely makes easy for them the reading of an important part of Irish literature, but gives them an insight into its value and beauty. The selections are not numerous (only twenty-two) and are not meant to represent all the types of Bardic poetry, but they are agreeably varied, and are all distinctive in character and of much poetic worth.

We notice that the book was printed in Belgium. To those who might cavil at this the Cork University Press might answer: Which is the more patriotic course, to spend a little money abroad in printing a book which will advance Irish scholarship directly and Irish prosperity indirectly; or—the only other alternative for people who cannot afford to lose money—to leave the book unwritten? L. M.

CÚRSAÍ THOMÁIS. M. do sgríobh. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. ll.420. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Nuair a ghlac "Tomás Mac Aonghusa" chuige a pheann chun "saghas phictiúr do thaisbeaint de shaoghal na tuaithe i gceanntair na Sean-Coille, cúig bliadna déag ó shoin," chun "fíor-chúntas d'innsint ar chúrsaí mo shaoghail," ní raibh sé ar aigne an leabhar d'fhoillsiughadh nuair a bhéadh sé scríobhtha aige. Sin adeir sé féin, pé sceul é.

Dar liomsa, is mór an truagh go dtáinig sé ar atharrach aigne. An fhaid is a bhíonn Tomás ag cur síos ar obair an fhéirmeóra, ar chúrsaí fiadhaigh, ar eachtraí fir shiubhail, ar áilneacht na gcoill, is a leithéidí, tá an leabhar suimeamhail go leór agus tá giotaí ann a thaithnigheann liom go maith. Ach níl Tomás sásta gan aithris a dhéanamh ar an aicme gránda úd, na scríbhneóirí salacha, mí-náireacha, atá comh flúirseach fé láthair. Níl sé sásta gan a nochtughadh dhúinn cionnus a mhothuigh sé taobh istigh nuair a phioc sé suas fo-léine Pheig Nic an Bháird de'n bhóthar an lá a thuit a mála taistil is a scaipeadh a raibh ann. Ni beag san mar shompla an ádhbhair a tharraingeann sé isteach sa sgeul arís is arís is arís eile, gan trócaire, gan náire, is gan fáth.

Bíonn gearán géar is ana-chlampar le clos ó am go h-am sa tír seo 'gainne i dtaobh droch-leabhar ó Shasana, agus, dar ndóigh, ta cúis leis. Ach is mithid dúinn aire mhaith a thabhairt do na leabhraí a cuirfear amach sa 'bhaile as so amach. Maidir leis an leabhar seo, "Cúrsaí Thomáis," d'fhéadfadh sé bheith níos seacht mcasa ná mar atá, ach tá sé dona go leór.

Rud eile, is beag tréith uasal atá ag baint le duine ar bith sa sgeul. Tá daoine suaracha ann, daoine úrcóideacha, daoine drúiseamhla agus mar sin de, ach duine fiúntach—taobh amuigh de Úna de Bhulbh, b'fhéidir—ní fhuighfeá. Sin é an "saghas phictiúr" a taisbeántar de pharóisde i gConndae an Chláir, cúig bliadna déag ó shoin.

Maidir le stíl an ughdair, tá fuinneamh is beodhacht ann, ach tá rian an Bheurla air agus tá "M." go ró-thugtha do na foclaibh iasachtacha, focail nach bhfuil i n-easnamh i n-aon chor. Ba dhóigh le duine gur mhian leis an scríbhneóir a chuid léighinn a chur i n-úil do'n saoghal. Seo cúpla sompla: "an boladh aoibhinn breágh a thagann ó mhóin-fhéar a mbíonn an autoxanthum odoratum ag fás ann"; "Ach an rud ar fad, an tout ensemble, do bhain san gáire asam"; "Bhíodh cuid-eachtamhlacht ag baint leo, nó bonhomie mar adeirtear sa bhFrainnc."

Ba fhearr liom go mór fada an leabhar do mholadh ná é do cháineadh; níl a mhalairt de rogha agam an turas seo, ámhach, ach a rádh go bhfuil súil agam go mba fada uainn an lá a gcuirfear i gcló leabhar gaedhealach eile dá leithéid. S. MacM.

UAIGNEAS. Séamus Ó h-Aodha do chum. Clólucht an Tálbóidigh. 1928.

Sé rud atá san leabhrán so ocht ndréichtín ar fichid d'filíocht nuaidh-cheaptha. Thug an file óg fé mheadaracht an Dáin Dírigh ionnta; agus, cé gur iomdha easnamh, dar liom, agus lúb ar lár in gach dán aige, ní fhágann san nach ionmholta í a iarracht ar a slatracht agus ar a mór-mheisneach. Muna bhfuil Rannaigheacht Mhór aige san chéad dán, ná Deachnadh Beag san tríomhadh ceann, ní ró-olc an t-óglachas ortha araon aige ionnta. Dá mb'áil leis comhairle Horáit, file, do ghlacadh, agus na dánta so do choimeád aige go cionn deich mbliadhan fé gcuir-feadh sé cló ortha, do b'fheairrde iad é, gan amhras, maidir le na gcucht (gcrot) ar a laghad; óir is iomdha feabhas éireochadh leis cur ortha leis an aimsir. B'fhéirdir gan ann acht doic nó daille aigne éigin orm féin ná leigeann dom breith chothrom do thabhairt ar shaothar dá leithéid, acht chidhtear dom an éadoimhe, an tsuaille, an éadtairise sin is tréithre na ré látharaighe, bheith le mothú go follus ar na dánta beaga so. An rud thairg sé air a chur in iúl dúinn, is minic suarach go leor é; agus fiú feín nuair nach suarach, an tsuim chuir an file ann, ní dheachaidh sí, dar leat, thar dhromchladh a aigne, ná ní ró-dáiríribh bhí sé na thaobh.

Acht iars an méid seo do rádh dham agus dá aimhdeoin,

molaim go dúthrachtach do chách na dánta beaga so do léigheamh, agus a gcur i gcoimeas le dánta na sean-fhileadh. Mar sin is mó is ionmheasta éireochaidh chugainn scoil fhileadh n-óg a fhighfidh gléire gacha nuaidh le forgla gacha sin. Idir an dá linn, tréasluighmís uile a shaothar inspéiste don bhfile óg so.

MICHEÁL MACCRAITH.

Economics

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF JUAN DE MARIANA. By John Laures, S.J., Ph.D. New York: Fordham University Press. 1928. 3 dollars.

PROFESSOR SELIGMAN, under whose direction this book was written, remarks in the Foreword which he contributed to it that Spanish literature is an untilled field for the economic historian. Students who have read Professor Seligman's classical treatise on the Shifting and Incidence of Taxation will remember that references to little-known Spanish authors are one of the features of that great work, and it would not be surprising if other authorities remained to be discovered. Fr. Laures has done a useful work in drawing attention to one such authority. Mariana is so well known as the alleged advocate of tyrannicide that his contributions to economic thought have been ignored if not forgotten. Nevertheless he gave expression in the course of his voluminous writings to a good many economic opinions, some of which are interesting. Fr. Laures has collected these opinions and has shown their relation to the current thought of Mariana's time.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part contains a brief summary of Mariana's political ideas, and the second a more detailed account of his economic ideas. On such matters as private property, the just price, and the duty of almsgiving he did little more than repeat the well known teaching of the scholastics, but on the subject of money he was more original. His treatise *De Monetae Mutatione,* which was provoked by Philip III's. debasement of the copper currency, attracted considerable attention and involved its author in serious trouble with the Government. Fr. Laures admits that this treatise contains nothing relating to monetary theory that could not have been derived from Oresme, Bodin and other earlier writers, but claims that it was original in treatment because of the employment of the historical method.

The concluding portion of the book is devoted to an examination of Mariana's opinions on taxation and public finance.

In this sphere he was of minor importance compared with Molina, De Lugo, and other Spanish Jesuits who had a great deal to say about the rights and duties of the sovereign and the taxpayer respectively. Mariana was concerned with practice rather than theory. He made many suggestions regarding the finances of Spain, insisting on economy in expenditure and the exemption of the poor from public burdens. Indeed, Mariana seems to have been interested in economic matters only in so far as they had a political bearing: his opinions on money, taxation and finance arise only in connection with the rights of the sovereign; and it is doubtful whether he contributed anything really original to economic thought. Nevertheless, the task of separating his economic ideas from the rest of his writings was well worth performing, if only because it shows the comparatively enlightened degree of knowledge on these subjects which was possessed by the Spanish Jesuits of the sixteenth century. G. O'B.

THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION. By B. F. Shields, M.A. London: Pitman. 1928. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS volume comprises a descriptive survey of some of the more important features of the industrial system as it exists in the prominent capitalist countries of Europe and in America. Its subject-matter may be gathered from the chapter headings:—Business Combinations—Scientific Management—Methods of Industrial Remuneration—Minimum Wage—Vocational Guidance—Industrial Education—Industrial Welfare-work. There is an introductory chapter on the industrial systems which preceded capitalism. Under these headings Professor Shields has collected a mass of up-to-date information, and has presented it in a very lucid manner. Indeed he has managed to survey impartially a great portion of the industrial field. His material was intended originally to be used in a course of public lectures, and evidently he was compelled to select his topics. This probably explains why the organisation of labour, surely an integral part of industrial organisation, finds no place in this book. One would like to have from the author a description of the modern tendencies in trade unionism in the manner of his chapter on industrial combinations.

While the wealth-producing power of the capitalist industrial system appears to be almost without limit, in other directions that system has certain grave limitations and defects. A significant and symptomatic feature of the present age is the amount

of anxious thought to which these defects give rise. The author shows that differences of opinion are frequent on the subject of remedies with which he is largely occupied. He himself, however, is no controversialist and sets forth scrupulously arguments *pro* and *con*. If the reader is sometimes left in that state of indecision which is one of the less pleasing effects of descriptive economics, the reason is that the problems discussed are not simple. The method of collating the experience of different countries should be valuable as a guide to inquirers and ought to be particularly helpful to students.

At home, though we have some of the paraphernalia of an industrial system, we have little industry, and our interest in the subject matter of this book must be to some extent academic. What ought to interest us, however, is the manner in which manufacturing enterprises might be promoted. The experience of other countries in this respect should be valuable to us. From a consideration of that experience two lines of immediate inquiry suggest themselves (1) What determines the supply of persons with "speculative foresight and promptitude in the assumption of risks" capable of establishing and managing industries? This is bound up with the question of industrial education, of which the author gives a very useful summary. (2) By what means could Irish and foreign capital be made available for Irish industries? In dealing with this question the proper function of banks in relation to industrial undertakings would have to be examined and the suitability of development trusts and finance companies considered. The experience of Germany, Belgium and the United States should be of great assistance here. Let us hope that this aspect of industrial organisation may engage Professor Shield's attention in the near future. M. D.

Education

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASES OF EDUCATION. By Robert R. Rusk, M.A., Ph.D. University of London Press. 1928. Pp. 205. 5s. net.

Dr. Rusk has already published many proofs of his varied activities as a Lecturer on and Examiner in Education in Glasgow. In this modest work he essays the presentation of his general doctrine on the scope and aims of the Science of Education. Essays of this character, perhaps over-numerous on the Continent, are rare enough in English to make any such personal exposition

of a mental policy at once acceptable and useful. There are, for instance, multitudes of detailed manuals available on education, works of American writers. They lack any broad and unifying principles, and the need of such principles is manifest. Hence the marked inclination in the United States to accept unreflectingly the pragmatic philosophy of Education propounded by Dewey. Professor Dewey is, indeed, the one propounder of any philosophy of education that is at all in sight, among all the universities and schools that there disport themselves in Education.

Dissenting alike from the pragmatism of Dewey and from the naturalistic and semi-scientific concepts in vogue in England since the epoch of Spencer, Dr. Rusk has elected to advance an idealistic philosophy. It contains a fair measure of Socrates as in Plato, much of Rousseau, Kant, Fichte, something of Wordsworth, Froebel, Schelling, and Hegel. Dr Rusk is an old student of the Iena School, no less than a practical worker on Scottish soil. But it is not in Scotland that he comes down to earth. He prefers to alight on the arduous aridities of Gentile, after a long and somewhat gyratory flight down the centuries of historic idealism. Probably for the same reasons that led to the exclusion of Dewey, he also avoids all contact with the neo-Comtists of contemporary France. They abandoned both Kant and Rousseau between 1895 and 1905, and the doctrinaire semi-official teaching on Education now given in the Sorbonne is a decoction of Comte and Spencer, prepared by Emile Durkheim.

Any student of the *philosophia perennis* in its applications to Education will find in Dr. Rusk's brief yet suggestive surveys of Naturalism and Pragmatism, even before he advances the standard of Idealism, a useful and even provocative summary, at times even a mild onslaught. This value is enhanced by the remarkable skill with which Dr. Rusk utilises quotations from those whose ideas and arguments he brings under review. They are numerous, too numerous perhaps for the length of the book : they tend to oust the constructive exposition of Dr. Rusk's mind. But they are never vague or diffuse, and never scattered loose. Rather, they are welded firmly into what would have gained as a treatise if it were more personal and less critical. To the student of Education these numerous sling-stones, carefully selected by an experienced lecturer, will be valuable specimens, each evoking its illustrative comment, even though at many points the comment will be from a basis by no means congruent with that of Dr. Rusk.

T. C.

THE APPROACH TO TEACHING. By Herbert Ward, M.A., and Frank Roscoe, M.A. London: Bell. 1928. Pp. x+208. 5s. net.

THE sixteen chapters of this volume exhibit a more practical, and also a more modest, line of treatment than has been usual of recent years in English books on methods of teaching. From time to time the two writers do look over the hedge, and even skywards, in search of principles that will give a certain structural unity to their advice; but these are but incidental glimpses, and they are always checked by a conscious process of self-control. Even so, Messrs. Ward and Roscoe, since they always manage to pull well together, do achieve that unity of method to a degree never observable in those numerous tomes where every subject has a distinct and very independent writer.

Practically all the chapters will be found useful to the beginner, although at times, as in the treatment of initial Latin (pages 158-166), the allied writers are entirely too much wedded to a poor modern English type of tradition. Indeed the beginner will probably make the most of this book, if he brings to its perusal a somewhat radical and questioning spirit, and takes in its literal thoroughness the advice given on the first page, that "the teacher makes his own method." He wants a statement, formal or implied, of the main issues on which he has to make up his mind and find a policy.

Take, for instance, the class-system. It is incidentally, but only incidentally, dealt with in the central portion of this work, under the heading "The Stages of Education." The cautious conclusion is reached that "for the ordinary class, small or large, as seen in schools, class teaching is not less important than teaching on an individual method." Throughout this sentence it is obviously implied that the two methods are distinct, alternative. The plain fact is that every sound class method—and there are many types, not one—must have inherent in it a good deal of individual direction, attention, and correction. It is only in the debased class process of the English primary system, current for a century before 1914, that this proper measure of true formative training for individual pupils was quite crushed out. It is no wonder that since 1914, English teachers have been eager to try "extreme forms of the individual method."

Perhaps the most notable omission in this agreeably-written work is the function of the school in relation to method. Ever since Arnold, it is accepted that methods are for the teacher to

adopt and use: this individualism is an inherent characteristic. The great injury to whole classes, when (say) four successive teachers of a subject impose four divergent methods on the same class as it progresses—if it does progress—through four successive years, is an obvious fact. It accounts for most of the failures in education. It is nowhere adequately provided against in this treatise, nor indeed in English schools as a whole. When the European principle of organisation is accepted, the rights of teachers to make individually each his own method will undergo wise limitations in the interests of the pupils. It is a tradition on the Continent for many centuries. T. C.

Fiction

THE SHORT STORIES OF THOMAS HARDY. London: Macmillan. 1928. 1,084 pp. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS is about the most welcome of the various "portmanteau" collections of short stories that have been recently appearing. The Hardy lover will be glad to have in one handy-sized volume the forty odd stories of "Wessex Tales," "Life's Little Ironies," "A Group of Noble Dames," and "A Changed Man."

Hardy's short stories would never, of course, have won him the reputation that his novels have secured, if only for the reason that the short story, however great, never loses a certain suggestion of the ephemeral. But it would be at least interesting to discuss whether Hardy does not rank higher relatively among the English short-story writers than he does among the novelists. His short stories have all the power of his novels, wealth of description, quaint lore of the Wessex countryside, shrewd psychology. In addition, they are comparatively free from one of the great blemishes of his novels, the intruding presence of the "Fate motif." Accordingly their machinery moves more smoothly, the story flows on of itself and the presence of the story-teller is forgotten. In other words, they approach more nearly to that ideal of fiction, the pleasant, skilful, entertaining recital of an apparently real sequence of interesting events.

One manifestation of this is the complete absence in Hardy's stories of what is commonly called the "trick ending." We are all familiar with this device from the pages of O. Henry. A superb example is the story "The Cop and the Anthem." "Soapy," a New York down-and-out, feeling the cold weather draw on, commences his usual autumn campaign for free lodgings. He

smashes a window, dines at a restaurant without paying, annoys a young lady, but by some perverse working of Fate, cannot get himself arrested. He then sits down on a bench in Madison Square, and the sound of an anthem played on the organ of a neighbouring church rouses him to better things.

> He would be somebody in the world. He would ——. Soapy felt a hand laid on his arm. He looked quickly around into the broad face of a policeman.
>
> "What are you doin' here?" asked the officer.
>
> "Nothin'," said Soapy.
>
> "Then come along," said the policeman.

The "trick ending" can be, of course, a work of the highest sort, but in itself it is a confession of weakness. It is like a good joke kept for the end of a comedian's turn, to secure at the fall of the curtain the laugh that may have hung fire during the performance. Of its very nature it is a stage-device and alien to the supreme art of natural story-telling.

Compare with the ending of O. Henry's story the last paragraph of the very first story in the Hardy volume, "The Three Strangers."

> The grass has long been green on the graves of Shepherd Fennel and his frugal wife; the guests who made up the christening party have mainly followed their entertainers to the tomb; the babe in whose honour they all had met is a matron in the sere and yellow leaf. But the arrival of the three strangers at the Shepherd's that night, and the details connected therewith, is a story as well known as ever in the country about Higher Crowstairs.

Here we have a leisurely, obvious conclusion to the tale, yet one that is artistically satisfying in the highest degree. The story is so good that it would be spoiled by coming to anything else than a natural, unadorned conclusion.

Hardy's pessimism is less marked in his stories than in the novels. As I have said, the cumbrous machinery of destiny is absent from most of them. One ugly manifestation of his philosophy is however unpleasantly common in them, especially in that amazingly skilful collection "A Group of Noble Dames"—his low estimate of human nature in all that has to do with human love and married life. It was a strange "little irony" that Hardy, who certainly had a heart for the suffering ones of the earth, should not have realised that by his ruthless shattering of the remnants of human ideals, he was only helping to submerge yet more hopelessly those whom some of his pages would seem to show that he was sincerely trying to lift up.

F. McG.

History

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Translated from the German of Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor. Edited by Ralph Francis Kerr. Vols. XV and XVI. London: Kegan Paul. 1928. 15s. each.

THESE two volumes of the English translation bring Pastor's narrative down to the year 1565; they correspond to the German volume issued in 1919, the first of a new series which has since been published in rapid succession. The reign of Pius IV (1559-1565) has little of the dramatic interest which made the two previous volumes of this translation such easy reading; the Carafa family, whose fortunes had crashed before the death of Paul IV, goes down in the ignominy of a public execution within the first few months of the new reign. Nepotism, at least as a gamble in international politics, has had its day. The Pope's nephew, St. Charles Borromeo, is himself the type of a new order; and his administration as Cardinal Secretary of State is a natural prelude to the reign of Pius IV's successor, St. Pius V.

Yet men were slow to understand that the Church had definitely entered upon the path of reform. Small wonder, when we remember that the Conclave which elected Pius IV lasted for over three months and was openly more concerned with the problem of pleasing the King of France or the King of Spain than with the choice of a Pope whose personal character would be a guarantee of much-needed reforms. When Cardinal Gian Angelo de' Medici was at last elected, men were well pleased at Rome. A Pope who came of so wealthy a family would not be likely to walk too far on the austere path indicated by the recent legislation of Paul IV. And the Pope had many nephews.

Two speedily became the acknowledged favourites—Charles, who was nominated Cardinal Secretary of State at the age of twenty-one, and his elder brother Federigo, who was appointed Captain General of the Church in the first year of the new reign. But death interfered with these plans of family aggrandisement—death and the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. Federigo died suddenly in 1562. Everybody in Rome took it for granted that Charles, who was then only a sub-deacon, would resign his position as Cardinal, get a dispensation from his vow of chastity and assure in his own person the future of his family. But God's grace was at work. Before taking so grave a step the young

Cardinal made a retreat under the direction of a Spanish Jesuit, Fr. Ribera. At the end of the retreat Cardinal Borromeo asked for permission to be ordained priest, and celebrated his first Mass with great solemnity in St. Peter's. It was only the first step on a road which was to lead him straight to sanctity; and the decision thus made by this young man of twenty-three definitely swung the Papal court into line with the whole movement of reform. First at Rome, and then in Milan, St. Charles Borromeo becomes the acknowledged leader of what we now know as the Counter-reformation.

But the reign of Pius IV, apart from the personal influence of his saintly nephew, is decisive in the history of the sixteenth century; for it was this prudent, calculating Pope, schooled for long years under Paul III and Julius III in all the ways of ecclesiastical diplomacy, who succeeded where so many had failed. The Council of Trent, which had been suspended by Julius III and was never summoned by Paul IV, met once more in spite of " a sea of difficulties " early in 1562, and was solemnly closed in December of the next year. Early in 1564 the Pope was at last able to confirm the decrees of the great Council, and he died whilst his Curia was busily at work on such problems as the issue of a Cathechism, the revision of the Index, the reform of the Breviary and the Missal, and the revision of the Vulgate Bible. These are great works, which it is no small achievement even to have taken in hands; and Pastor makes it plain that the Pope's own character, his perseverance and high sense of duty in the face of danger, and above all his unusual skill as a diplomatist were decisive factors in the long struggle between the Roman Curia and the chancelleries of Catholic Europe. Even more decisive perhaps was the steady pressure of public opinion. Men's hearts, wearied by the sight and sound of religious dissensions, were set on reform. The tragedy remains that Luther and Calvin were still potent forces in Northern Europe. Our own generation, like the generation which witnessed the French Revolution, has seen the bitter outcome of that revolt, which the Council of Trent failed to conciliate. Europe ceased to be Catholic Europe, and the Council's decrees were only accepted by one half of what was then the civilised world. They remain an astonishingly impressive statement of what till then was the common Faith of Christendom. P. D.

LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By Mgr. Horace K. Mann. Vol. XIV. Innocent IV, the Magnificent, 1243-54. London: Kegan Paul. 1928. 15s.

WHEN Gregory IX was called to his reward in August 1241, the second great struggle between the Empire and the Papacy had entered on its bitterest phase. The fundamental point at issue had remained exactly what it was in the days of Gregory VII; but the problem had changed in outward form, and there were accidental circumstances now which made its solution much more difficult than formerly. Henry IV, however reckless in his imperial ambitions, and Frederick Barbarossa, however energetic in reviving Henry's pretensions, were at heart loyal Catholics and might quite conceivably have confessed Christ with their blood had their faith been subjected to the ultimate human test. Of Frederick II this cannot be said. Many of his contemporaries regarded him frankly as an unbeliever, emphasising thus, by a judgment excessively harsh, his inner estrangement from the Church. There can be no doubt, however, that Frederick's spiritual affinities lay rather with Voltaire than with the poor man of Assisi or with any fervent follower of the Crucified. Stress is often laid on his avowed admiration for Arab culture, but in this connection it is well to remember that his enthusiasm was aroused by Oriental institutions, like the harem, not by Oriental commentaries on the Koran. Lamentably meagre as were his religious needs, they were at least such as Christianity alone could satisfy. Unmistakably western were his vigour and his genius for organisation and rule. The independence of the Pope's power was to him anathema, a sort of profane heresy which his profane conscience could not tolerate. We can picture to ourselves his feelings as he stood before the gates of Rome with a mighty army and saw fall upon the city a sombre silence—Gregory IX was dying—broken at length by the mournful tolling of the bells—Gregory IX was dead. Heaven itself seemed to be seconding Frederick's efforts. The triumph of his ideal was all but assured. Would time in its wayward course justify the optimism of his outlook?

Mgr. Mann's new volume supplies the answer. Frederick dominated two conclaves, and found in Innocent IV a Pontiff with the kindliest dispositions towards himself. Yet the struggle soon broke out afresh and continued as bitterly as before. Principle was pitted against principle, iron will against iron will, and the din of repeated collisions resounded painfully through the Christian world. Innocent fled for safety to Lyons, where he

called a General Council that deposed Frederick from the government of the Empire. Rival rulers were set up, first one and then another, but they were men of mediocre parts, unfit to challenge comparison with Frederick either on the battlefield or in the Council chamber. Their weakness notwithstanding the weight of papal condemnation pressed like a doom on the proud Hohenstaufen. He fought more desperately and more cruelly as his fortunes waned, until in the closing month of 1250 the Angel of Death appeared suddenly at his bedside with a peremptory summons. His last moments on earth were passed, we may hope, in penitence, though on this point the chroniclers are divided.

When Frederick failed there was little likelihood that his less able sons would succeed. The remaining four years of Innocent's life were spent in conflict with these. So absorbed was he in the campaign against the Hohenstaufen that he left the Crusade against the Turk entirely to St. Louis, whose resources were quite unequal to its demands. Innocent, however, showed keen interest in the Tartars, to whose Great Khan he sent embassies of intrepid Dominican and Franciscan Friars. There is a romance about these missions that almost does violence to Mgr. Mann's resolute sobriety of style.

What the reader will miss in this volume is a judicious statement of the rights and wrongs of the dispute between Emperor and Pope. Was every claim and act of the latter just, every claim and act of the former unjust ? How much, in the retrospect of history, might each have conceded without being false to his trust as supreme spiritual or temporal ruler of Christendom ? Was Innocent compelled, from the opening days of his reign, to regard Frederick as a scoundrel with whom it was impossible to negotiate ? A calm and well-balanced discussion of such questions is expected in the twentieth century. Many also will regret that some irrelevant comments, due to the author's party attachment in the recent World War, should be allowed to stand years after that war had ended. J. R.

THE INVASION OF EUROPE BY THE BARBARIANS. By the late J. B. Bury, D.Litt., LL.D. London : Macmillan. 1928. 12s. 6d.

This volume contains a series of lectures which Professor Bury used to deliver periodically at Cambridge, beginning with the year 1903. They were not designed for publication by their author, but after his death last year they were prepared from his lecture notes, with only a minimum of necessary emendation,

by Mr. F. J. C. Hearnshaw of King's College, London. Like all Bury's work, these lectures are amazingly clear and readable. It was no small feat to make the history of the invasions of Europe during the fourth and fifth centuries even appear as an orderly sequence of events; but Bury achieves this feat in a series of fifteen lectures, which will probably serve as a standard text-book for some time to come. The average student of European history will be eager to buy and read the book, for nowhere else will he find the story told with equal clearness and mastery of detail. Even specialists will welcome the work, for Bury had his own personal views on more than one of the problems discussed in these pages, and they are often ably summarised in a single paragraph.

From a more general standpoint these lectures are open to a good deal of criticism. No attempt is made, for example, to explain the internal collapse of Roman civilisation in Western Europe which made these invasions possible. Possibly Bury would have replied that the fall of the Roman Empire is matter for Ancient History, whilst these lectures were delivered by him as Lord Acton's successor in the Regius Chair of Modern History. Whatever the cause of the omission, it is disappointing to be told without further comment in the second lecture that "in the old civilised countries round the Mediterranean Sea the population had become quite useless for military service. They were too highly civilised, and not physically fit enough, on the average, to do hand-to-hand fighting with the uncivilised barbarians." This looks like a survival of Gibbon's eighteenth century scepticism; the sentence might have been written by Voltaire. Did Bury's pupils at Cambridge appreciate a philosophy which held out little hope for their own Empire?

And Gibbon's influence is even more noticeable in a very singular omission throughout these lectures. Not a word is said from start to finish of the influence which every historian admits to have been exercised by the Catholic Church in these days of stress. Here and there an occasional bishop is singled out for a word of patronising praise: Anianus at Orleans, Severinus in Noricum, Leo the Great as an ambassador to the camp of Attila. But the praise is usually accompanied by a cheap jibe at some legend or miracle, and nowhere in the book is there any evidence that this Regius Professor of History has any conception of what the Church meant to Europe during two of the most critical centuries in her troubled history. The more reflective of Bury's pupils may perhaps have learnt from his lectures a

lesson that he hardly designed to teach them: the amazingly persistent power of an inherited prejudice. A. G.

Poetry

A BOOK OF VICTORIAN NARRATIVE VERSE. Chosen by Charles Williams. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. 3s. 6d.

THE CATHOLIC ANTHOLOGY. By Thomas Walsh, PH.D., LITT.D. New York: Macmillan. 1927. $2.50.

THE difference between these two books is the difference between an anthology and a collection. The first is informed by a definite purpose maintained throughout with austere consistency—to represent by narrative poetry the greatest age of narrative poetry. And just as there is no method more natural and effective for conveying a human experience than the circumstantial story, so there is none that is so tell-tale of false poetry. Old approvals and old misgivings return with redoubled force as one reads this anthology. One feels more than ever that there was something wilful and cranky in Browning's eccentricity, that Morris was a decorator of life's superficial aspect rather than an explorer into the heart of things, that Tennyson had in him the suspicion of a charlatan. But on the other hand one is confirmed in admiration for Swinburne's still, statuesque, but passionate blank verse, for the Homeric *Sohrab and Rustum*, mournful, but so fascinating that it kept one awake until far into the night re-reading it, for Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market* with such sweet Anglo-Saxon lines as:

> At length slow evening came:
> They went with pitchers to the reedy brook.

The Miltonic derivation is obvious, but all the same . . . . . indeed nothing in the book is without beauty, and it is welcomed as a microcosm of a great poetical age.

Dr. Walsh's book, however, has a slighter principle of poetical unity. "*The Catholic Anthology*," he writes, "is intended primarily as a selection of Catholic poems, written by Catholics, and bearing the impress of Catholic dogma, tradition, and life." As a record of Catholic thought in verse through the ages the work is well compiled; as a representation of the essential character of that thought, it is marred by indiscriminate choosing. As a poetical anthology its value may be judged from the presence of Dante and Shakespeare beside Kenelm Digby. Piety in verse, however sincere, does not of itself warrant poetry. It is not a

paradox but a scientific axiom that while all sincere poetry is a religious stimulus, religious poetry is not as such a greater religious stimulus than other poetry. The reason is that poetry communicates human experiences and only connotes in a general gesture their occasions and objects. It is incapable of conveying a doctrine. Enough if it makes us feel our manhood; we are not far from feeling the Divinity of God. But certainly much of the verse in this collection communicates no experience, however it does credit to the fervour of the writers. What to call Dr. Walsh is hard to say—perhaps an anthologian or a theologist? Anyway his book will be serviceable as a source-book to those who wish to reason from Catholic art as Fr. De la Taille does so charmingly. And even readers of poetry will be glad to have *The Dream of the Rood*, *The Windhover*, Dr. Walsh's own workmanlike translations, and scores of other lovely things in one volume, howsoever they are packed in sawdust.

Though Dr. Walsh has made a bold effort at completeness, many names have escaped him. Could no translator be found for the lovely pastoral lyrics of Walter von der Vogelweide and Wolfram von Eschenbach; was there no space for Thomas Campion or Skelton? And if Skelton is not an edifying person, who can forgive the omission of such names as Massinger, Weber, Ronsard, or Villiers de l'Isle Adam, or Guido Cavalcanti and all the friends of Dante? What of that tenderest of hymns—Tadhg Gaedhealach O'Suilleabhan's to the Sacred Heart? What of the great lyric of purgatory *The Lykewake Dirge*? Novalis too is omitted, who of all non-Catholics wrote the most Catholic poetry. Fr. Bardi, S.J., and the later mediaeval hymnologists are not represented despite their genius. Other points that call for comment are the inclusion of Shakespeare and Victor Hugo among non-Catholics; all the odds are on Hugo's faith despite his fits of anti-clericalism. Miss Madeleine Rock too, who is a good Catholic, should be amongst Catholics included. *The Dream of the Rood* is perhaps by Cynewulf, whose name is absent from the collection, while one of the extracts given to Caedmon is of doubtful authenticity, as is *The Ballad of Good Counsel* attributed here to Chaucer. Hawker was only converted on his deathbed and should not count as a Catholic, while Ben Jonson, a pervert only towards the end, is not represented. Then to include Racine amongst Catholics indicates at the least a tolerant outlook. And no poem by Ronsard!—but of course room had to be made for Mr. Alfred Noyes. A. L.

THE DARK BREED. By F. R. Higgins. London: Macmillan. 1927. 3s. 6d. net.

"POETRY forages no groundsel in a gilded cage, but having clamped the sod with a shoeless hoof, cleaves the wild air with liberal wings," writes Mr. Higgins in his preface, which comes, rather characteristically, at the end of the book. But there is also a kind of poetry that puts its four hoofs together and arches its back and leaps just six feet into the air to the embarrassment of the reader. Mr. Higgins achieves this effect by the constant sudden introduction into his poems of pictures and circumstances that have no recognisable bearing on the central mood—a species of mystification that one had thought Mr. Austin Clarke had specially invented for his own use. It may be present here because Mr. Higgins is still a little phrase-ridden; for he certainly is that. The fallacy that Mr. George Moore fathers upon Synge and that Mr. Yeats and Mr. Clarke have used in their degrees certainly obsesses him. That fallacy is that the literal translation of Irish idioms will provide a racy and imaginative diction in English. It will not. For a while it attracted by its novelty, but it will soon repel by its unnaturalness. It is as strained to use an idiom out of its tongue as to use an archaism out of its time. We are past the days when archaism was held necessary to good style, or colloquial vigour (even slang) necessarily fatal to it. Purists are no longer puritans. Meanwhile this tendency is urging Mr. Higgins to fashion his imagination to his phrases rather than his phrases to his imagination. "The Wandering Hawk" is thus marred.

Yet he has genius. His very definite aim, expressed in the poem "Heresy," to replace the nebulous mysticism of recent times whereby the world was viewed afar through a mist of sighs and tears, by a closer view and a sturdy acceptance of reality is very sound. And on a second reading of his lyrics one can prescind from their occasional vagaries (or indeed discover relevance where vagary first seemed), and detect the hot-blooded vitality that this poet almost too consciously affects, but certainly achieves. In the matter of technique, however, his success is quite unreserved. For twenty years now we have been evolving, or recovering, a system of rhythm in which the movement will not be predetermined by any stanza form or metre fixed beforehand and repeated, but will vary almost indefinitely with the variations of the mood. This is perhaps the century's greatest contribution to poetical literature. After, though far after, that astonishing metrist, Fr. Gerard Hopkins,

Mr. Walter de la Mare and Mr. Higgins have done most to develop these principles; and if Mr. de la Mare better subordinates his rhythm to his feeling, Mr. Higgins is the richer in resource. Every conceivable device is here of substitution, assonance, stave-rime, enjambement. In one or two cases he has actually invented a new device, as in "Lake Dwellers," where he effectively rimes an accented with an unaccented syllable. We must go to 18th century Irish verse for anything so intricate as this, and even there we shall find nothing that is at the same time so unforced :—

> As the grey air grows darker on grass-hidden water,
> And black otters bark at the talking of starlings,
> We've walked, O my darling, so far through the valley
> That shadows are quenching each star.

A. L.

Politics

A HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL POLITICAL THEORY IN THE WEST. By Sir R. W. Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. and A. J. Carlyle, M.A., D.Litt. Vol. V. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 1928. 30s. net.

THE fifth volume of this admirable history deals with the political theory of the thirteenth century. This subject had been from the beginning the main purpose of the authors. But they found that, "in order to understand the real character of the political theory of the Middle Ages, it was necessary to go back for many centuries, especially to the Roman Jurists of the second century, and to the Christian Fathers, and even to make some examination of the political conceptions of the post-Aristotelian philosophy, from which both Jurists and Fathers derived some of their most important principles." In the four volumes already published this preliminary work has been excellently accomplished by Mr. A. J. Carlyle. The present volume—in which Sir R. W. Carlyle appears for the first time—deals with what may be regarded as the crowning point both of mediaeval theory in the political philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, and of mediaeval practice which the authors find in the canonical writings of Pope Innocent IV. The war of pamphlets, occasioned by the disputes between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip le Bel, is also discussed in detail, with perhaps a slight bias towards the secular side.

So far as theory is concerned, the authors confine themselves to a study of the general drift of opinion. This method has its drawbacks, and, in particular, I cannot help thinking that a careful study of the political theories of so important a writer as St. Bonaventure (who is never mentioned) might have modified

some of the conclusions of this volume. These conclusions are skilfully summarised in Part III. The first, and in many ways the most important, is the authors' view that mediaeval political theory, apart from the one notable exception of St. Thomas Aquinas, is dominated by the conception that the great institutions of human society are artificial or conventional. This theory, ultimately derived from post-Aristotelian philosophy, may be supposed to owe its position in mediaeval thought to its adoption by St. Augustine. Even the authority of St. Thomas Aquinas, who accepted the eminently sane view of Aristotle that social institutions are a natural development, was insufficient to secure the general acceptance of the correct view. Mr. A. J. Carlyle, in an earlier volume of this history, has done good work in demolishing the view—possibly due to the influence of Gierke—that mediaeval theologians and the early Fathers regarded civil society as positively a bad thing, due ultimately to the Fall and to Original Sin. The State, as Mr. A. J. Carlyle has shown, is universally regarded in mediaeval times as a divine institution, occasioned, if you will, by sin, but set up as a divine remedy therefor. The notion which, unfortunately, we still constantly encounter, that Hildebrand or any other mediaeval theologian intended to dispute this view, is a complete misconception.

But it is doubtful if the authors themselves have got to the root of the matter. Whatever the theory of St. Augustine may have been—and Dr. Otto Schilling (*Die Staats- und Soziallehre des hl. Augustinus*) definitely denies that he held the conventional theory—it is quite certain that theologians of the thirteenth century who still followed the Augustinian tradition, as *e.g.*, St. Bonaventure, were quite convinced that both society and the State were natural institutions. Certain aspects of social organisation, admittedly, could not be regarded as natural "simpliciter." The coercive function of the State, which involves something analogous to slavery, was a result of the Fall. But this, in the thirteenth century, does not at all mean that social organisation is itself merely conventional, and there is in fact little essential difference between the theories of St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas Aquinas in this matter. This is a subject which deserves more careful investigation than it has so far received.

The real dividing line between ancient and mediaeval political theory is found by the authors of this history in "the highly developed doctrine of the equality and freedom of the individual man." "Political authority rests not on the superiority of the ruler to the ruled, not on the principle of inequality, but solely

upon the will of the community; it belongs to the community, it is delegated by the community." The function of the State is a moral one—the maintenance of justice. And law is the expression of the life of the community, not the mere whim of the ruler. This is the theoretical basis upon which rests the authority of customary law. The treatment of customary law is one of the best things in the book, although it is, perhaps, an over-statement to say that "to the Middle Ages law was and remained to the end of the thirteenth century primarily custom" (p. 462). Nor is it, I think, true to suggest that "whatever other forms of law there might be, he [St. Thomas] was clear that custom lay behind them, and was still paramount over them" (p. 48). In St. Thomas the transition has already taken place from the idea of law as the custom of the community to the idea of law as springing from a legislative will or reason duly promulgated. This transition is due not merely to the revived study of Roman law but also to the obvious character of most of the laws of the Church. Custom is an important but definitely a secondary source of law.

The superiority of the spiritual over the secular power is an inevitable result of the whole mediaeval attitude. It is logically implicated in the theory that the State is a moral institution whose end is justice. Whatever a modern critic may think of the arguments on the one side or the other, it seems clear that contemporary opinion was predominantly papal. The pamphleteers on the other side are for the most part obscure or unknown. And it is remarkable how little notice the controversy receives in the great works on systematic theology. The controversy in the following years drew in writers of greater name, and students of mediaeval politics, who already owe a debt of gratitude to the learning and industry of Mr. A. J. Carlyle, will look forward with interest to the final volume. D. O'KEEFFE.

Miscellaneous

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN-LATIN POETRY FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By F. J. E. Raby. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1927. 21s.

MR. RABY tells us in his Preface that he began his study of the mediaeval Latin poets like an over-confident traveller who ventures into an almost unknown country. It is late in the day to call mediaeval literature an unknown country, but Mr. Raby has at

least been at immense pains to get in touch with those who are more familiar than he with the regions he set out to explore. His Bibliography is a formidable—and most useful—list of all modern authorities, down to the smallest paper or article in some continental review. And we have the further assurance that Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., has read through both MS. and proofs, correcting and supplementing Mr. Raby's own wide reading.

The weakest section in this very laborious study is unfortunately the one that will be consulted with most interest in this country: an introductory chapter entitled "Beginnings." Mr. Raby is here not at his best. After a few pages in which the origins of the Catholic Faith are traced back, according to theories now fashionable in Germany, to a mingling of Jewish monotheism, Hellenistic mystery-religions and Oriental mysticism, he gives a short and somewhat confused account of popular literature under the Roman Empire. Plainly he is writing from second-hand. His account of the schools, for example, is no more than a repetition of the generalisations which are so common in our handbooks; he has nothing new to say about the influence of Pagan literature on the first Christian writers; his statement that "later on, especially in Gaul, serious men with rhetorical gifts found a career in the episcopate" seems to ignore St. Cyprian; he is content to repeat the ordinary statement that Greek was for long a dominant literary language in the West and then suddenly declined, ignoring the evidence for local customs and local survivals; and he shirks the difficult question of the rhythms used by Commodian and the contemporary African versifiers, whose work survives in the inscriptions. In a standard *History of Christian Latin Poetry* we need more than a brief summary of what other scholars have held about such important and characteristic figures as Commodian, Juvencus and Pope Damasus. Mr. Raby gives us longer extracts from St. Augustine's *Carmen abecedarium contra Donatistas*. But even here he does little more than whet our curiosity. He tells us, for example, that W. Meyer attributed this particular verse-form to Semitic influence, but fails to remind his readers that the Donatist peasants, for whom St. Augustine was writing, were more familiar with Punic than with Latin. Semitic influences suggest the name of St. Ephrem of Syria to Mr. Raby. Does he not realise that such influences could be found much nearer home in the days of St. Augustine?

All this makes a poor preparation for the involved disquisition which follows on the origins of rhythm and rhyme. Mr. Raby

holds that the transition to rhythm, and later to rhyme, was the inevitable result of a decline in the sense of quantity, and cannot be attributed to the sole influence of any one nation. This is sound commonsense, but we need evidence of the new tendencies which appear simultaneously in prose and poetry, and in many parts of the Empire. What holds true of Northern Africa need not necessarily be true of Gaul or Italy, and the parallel with Greek literature cannot be ignored. Mr. Raby alludes to all these factors, but it is disappointing to get no formal justification of the theory which he holds. All his later analysis of the verse-techniques used throughout the Middle Ages depends upon the views put forward in this first chapter.

Once past the "Beginnings" Mr. Raby is on surer ground. His work never claims to be an independent study of the sources, but it is a very useful summary of the facts that have been established by a long series of continental scholars. The ordinary student will be immensely grateful for this solid volume with its long extracts from the more important hymns, and its careful chronicle of the little we know about their authors. Irish readers will be sure to turn to the single page which contains a record of Sedulius. They will find him classed as an Italian poet, with a foot-note to warn us that his native country is really unknown. Not a word is said about Ireland, and not a word either about the theories which Dr. Sigerson used to champion so vigorously in our midst. This is perhaps scant courtesy to a scholar who did much to awaken interest in his favourite poet,and Mr. Raby is hardly fair to Sedulius, whatever his nationality. Half-a-dozen lines are all he can afford to spare for the *Carmen Paschale*, and he is apparently more interested in the prose paraphrase which Sedulius wrote of his own poem. There is here surely some lack of historical perspective, for the *Carmen* had an immense influence on later Christian literature. Still it looks back to the past and to Virgil, not forward to the future, and I agree with Mr. Raby who prefers the hymns of St. Ambrose and Venantius Fortunatus and their anonymous contemporaries. The book ends with the Franciscan poets of the thirteenth century; the *Stabat Mater* and *Dies Irae* bring us to the threshold of modern poetry. A.G.

HOLY MATRIMONY. By Rev. P. J. Gannon, S.J. London: Longmans. 1928. 2s. 6d. (Paper); 4s. (Cloth).

MANY of those who heard Father Gannon's Lenten lectures on Matrimony in Gardiner Street, Dublin, will not be interested in

the appearance of the lectures in book form. They have heard the spoken word, and will remember the strong personality and splendid utterance of the preacher. They will wish for nothing more. His more thoughtful hearers, however, will attach quite as much importance to the book as to the lectures; for in it they may read and read again the things that so delighted them from the pulpit. Moreover they can sit down now, and question and examine a thing they had not time to do in the church. The more venturesome may even find a pleasure in the attempt to discover flaws and fallacies.

For this is matter dealing with concrete life, and our reasonings about concrete life cannot be mathematical. In such discussions the immature reader can always fancy he has discovered weaknesses. It is only the mature mind that can discern the really convincing proof, the complete analysis, even when, from the nature of the subject, a writer's reasonings cannot be mathematical. And Fr. Gannon's work is one for the mature mind. It will do immense good to any Catholic or even non-Catholic boy or girl who is fortunate enough to read it; but it is the mature student of life and its problems that will find it most satisfying.

There are two ways of writing on Theology, just as there are two ways of writing on the physical sciences. First, the text-book way, the way of *thesis*, proofs, and objections set out *secundum artem*, with such adventitious aids as are afforded by differences in type and spacing. Secondly, there is the literary way, the method of Newman in Theology and Tyndall in Science, the informal method of unbroken prose, with only such emphases and divisions as the narrative itself conveys. This latter is Fr. Gannon's way, for his book naturally follows the form of his lectures.

For that reason even the more advanced student in Theology will find Fr. Gannon's book most refreshing. He will find the naked syllogisms with which he had been familiar from the text books clothed and made living. Scholarship he will find in plenty, but it is scholarship that is never dull or repelling. On the contrary some of the most attractive chapters in his book have already been accepted by Catholic authorities as containing most valuable material not hitherto available in our text books and as representing a new departure in our way of handling certain old themes —for instance, his criticism of the Gospel texts dealing with indissolubility. The use of the Protestant divines themselves to combat Protestant theology in its interpretation of these texts will silence many an arrogant opponent of our Catholic system,

when the older and more direct methods of reasoning might leave them unconvinced or, what is worse, still talking.

In lighter vein than the chapter on the texts is that "For Better for Worse"—a very human record (for it is a record of life as well as an argument) that will appeal to all. The story of the London lodging house (p. 100) is something no reader will forget.

If I might venture to make a suggestion it is that in a second edition some of the more profound discussions might be spread out a little more for the purpose of helping readers not accustomed to very close reasoning. Fr. Gannon's mind is subtle and very quick, and the short crisp argument to which he sometimes resorts may be the most welcome of all styles to the trained reader. But he must be patient with all those others who cannot keep up with his pace. He must walk leisurely with them, and give them their own time. This he does in many chapters. But when he comes up with the great controversies and the heat of battle is on him, his pace is somewhat too rapid.

Fr. Gannon has done a great service to us all in Ireland. The priests particularly, who have to expound Catholic doctrine in sermons and instructions, he has laid under a deep debt of gratitude.

MICHAEL CANON CRONIN.

LES PREMIERES POLEMIQUES THOMISTES: I.—Le Correctorium Corruptorii "Quare." Par L'Abbé P. Glorieux. Kain (Belgique): Le Saulchoir. 1927. 50 fr.

Abbé Glorieux's edition of the Correctorium "Quare" is a work of immense labour and sound scholarship, which gives to students of philosophy a hitherto almost inaccessible text of remarkable interest. It is one of several Dominican replies to the attacks upon St. Thomas Aquinas made by the Oxford Franciscan William de la Mare. We cannot enter here into the Dominican and Franciscan polemics of the thirteenth century, but there is no doubt that matters came to a head shortly after the death of St. Thomas, whose bold, novel theses aroused a storm of opposition from the disciples of the traditional Augustinism then prevalent in the schools. De la Mare conceived the idea that as these new, dangerous books could not well be ignored, being in everybody's hands, they ought at least to be rendered innocuous by a suitable antidote. Accordingly he took seventy-five articles from the Summa Theologica, twenty-four from the Quaestiones disputatae, and nine respectively from the Quodlibetales and First Book on the Sentences, and published them side by side with a refutation of each of them by himself. This

work, which he entitled "Correctorium fratris Thomae," became so popular with the Franciscans that at the General Chapter held in Strasburg in 1282 it was decided that the Summa of Brother Thomas should only be given to readers in theology of "notable intelligence," and only when accompanied by the "declarations" of Brother de la Mare.

The effect on the followers of Brother Thomas may be imagined. The "Correctorium" to them was a "Corruptorium Thomae," and hence a "Correctorium Corruptorii" seemed to be urgently called for. At least four of them appeared, but as yet so little is known of their authors that they are usually designated by the first word of their response. Abbé Glorieux has happily selected that beginning with "Quare," which is the only one containing a reply to all the articles of the Oxford master, preceded in each case by the full text of the latter.

This bulky volume, with its elaborate critical apparatus, introduction and indexes, should prove valuable not only to students of scholastic philosophy, but to future research workers in the same field. P. Healy.

THE MASS AND REDEMPTION. By M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1926. Pp. xix + 238. 4s. 6d.

Father D'Arcy is already known as a champion of P. de la Taille's theory of the Mass. In this book he is less concerned with the defence of the theory than with its rich religious significance. "Indeed, this small volume," he writes in the preface, "is to some degree an English synopsis of the *Mysterium Fidei*, though I have given it a different setting. The setting is that of the Redemption."

It is good, now that we are returning to the oblation-sacrifice theory of the Blessed Eucharist, that Fr. D'Arcy should begin the work of applying it practically for the better understanding of the supernatural order and the intelligent development of the spiritual life. For the oblation-sacrifice doctrine of the Mass contains a point of view which, if we may be allowed the comparison, produces the effect of sunrise in hill country. A moment before there is little except uncertain shadows against a twilight background; a little later a level light flows across, defining outlines and distances. We believe that in certain respects *Mysterium Fidei* suggests some such perspective in spiritual things; and that Fr. D'Arcy's deliberately simple and direct little book will help many to reach it. D. S. N.

Shorter Notices

A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF IRISH BIOGRAPHY. By John S. Crone, M.R.I.A. Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928. 10/6.

THE need of a Dictionary of Irish Biography has been very pressing for almost half a century and therefore we extend a very cordial welcome to Dr. Crone's admirable volume. Within the compass of 270 pages, Dr. Crone, who is so well known as the originator and editor of the *Irish Book Lover*, has contrived to piece together in compact form a memoir of notable Irishmen and women in every sphere of activity during a thousand years and more. From the list of authorities made use of, there are few sources of information that have been left untapped, and it is very evident that the compilation has been indeed "a labour of love."

Glancing through the pages of this useful work, we are at once struck with the wonderful list of persons in all walks of life—saints, scholars, chieftains, artists, highwaymen, musicians, philosophers, historians, poets, judges, actors, etc.—that find a place. Of course no living persons are included; but, as specimens of how up-to-date the work is, we find recorded the names of F. J. Bigger, Lord Iveagh and William O'Brien, who passed away recently.

It goes without saying that there are some slips, *e.g.*, Father Michael Murphy of '98 fame was not a "P.P.," but a "C.C."; Vincent Wallace was born in "1812," not "1814"; Father Hogan, S.J., was born in "Cobh," not in "Cork"; Richard Crosbie, aeronaut, died in May, 1824, not "about 1800": Archbishop Gould was not "consecrated Archbishop of Melbourne in 1876," he was created as such in 1879, having been a bishop since 1848; Archbishop Curtis's date of birth should be 1767, not 1790; the account of Thomas Carter, the composer, is confounded with his namesake; Dr. Arbuckle's death is queried as "1746"; it occurred in January, 1742; but the list could be extended. It may be added that the number of serious omissions is very small.

However, the marvel is that any one man could have collected and assimilated such a vast storehouse of information, culled from so many different sources, and entailing enormous research. Dr. Crone deserves all praise for his scholarly volume, which will prove an indispensible *vade mecum* for those interested in notable Irish persons. The list here given is, as Dr. Crone writes, "greater in proportion to population than could be shown by any other country in the world."

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

THE DREAM OF GERONTIUS. By John Henry Cardinal Newman. With some words on the poem and its writer. By W. F. P. Stockley. London: Heath Cranton. n.d. 7/6.

THE DREAM OF GERONTIUS. By John Henry Newman (Cardinal). Arranged by "Anglican." London: Longmans. 1928. 7/6.

The Dream of Gerontius is one of the classics of the English language as well as of Catholic literature. An Anglican writer said of it: "Had Dante himself composed *The Dream of Gerontius* as his elegy on the death of some beloved friend, it would have been universally received as altogether worthy of his superb genius. There is nothing of its kind outside of the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso* at all equal to the *Gerontius* for solemnizing, ennobling, and sanctifying power." Like Dante's *Divina Commedia*, the *Dream* is a powerful effort of the poetic imagination guided by theology to pierce beyond the veil and explore the *au delà*.

Such a poem merits all the care that publisher, editor, and artist can lavish on it. Sir Edward Elgar, perhaps the greatest English composer of modern times, has made it the theme of an oratorio. More than one distinguished artist has essayed the difficult task of illustrating it. It has of course been edited many times since its first appearance in 1865.* But these two new editions break new

* Notably by Maurice Francis Egan in 1906.

ground. Let us say at once that the producers have done their work well. Both volumes are handsomely bound in buckram, both are printed on good paper with wide margins, the former being deckle-edged. The volume published by Messrs. Longmans is printed in such a way as to mark the "separate entities" that go to make up the poem, each entity standing out clearly, where possible on a separate page. So much for the producers' share.

The editorial contributions in the two cases are widely different. Professor Stockley prefixes an introduction of some fifty pages, falling into four divisions—Other Visions beyond the Grave, this Poem of the Individual Soul, Internal Religion through External, and Personality of the Poet in forms of the Poem. It is in the Professor's most baffling style. One might describe it as a medley of quotations—English, Latin, French, Italian—with comments. But it would be truer to call it a mosaic, only a mosaic the design of which is often difficult to trace. The text is followed by some twenty-five pages of interesting and learned notes. "Anglican" makes two valuable contributions to the study of the poem, viz., first a "Chronicle" or century of dates bearing on the poem, and secondly a Concordance or alphabetical index to the words of the poem. S. J. B.

ESSAYS, POEMS, LETTERS, PLAYS. By Oliver Goldsmith. Selected, with Appreciation and Bibliography, by Padraic Colum. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1928. 2/6.

This is a selection made from the writings of Oliver Goldsmith by Padraic Colum for his bi-centenary. Gentles to the gentle. Reading Colum's preface, one comes to the conclusion that Goldsmith's life has never been truly written, for it has never been written from an Irish point of view; indeed it has scarcely been attempted. Did Goldsmith know Irish, for instance? Colum suggests that he did, and that his intimate association with the country people in these times could not have taken place otherwise.

Goldsmith is a writer whose genius is only now being discovered. If people would only give up the "poor Poll" nonsense and realise that he was the acutest as he was perhaps the honestest member of the Johnson circle, there would be some chance of an advance. His political judgments were able, and in economic matters he had the courage to be openly right—his *Deserted Village* is the story of the Napier evictions in Ireland—when everyone around him was preaching the new nonsense. A. E. C.

ÆSTHETICS AND ART IN THE ASTREE OF HONORE D'URFE. By Sister Mary Catharine McMahon, M.A., of the Ursuline Nuns, Cleveland, Ohio. Washington, D.C. 1925.

This is a thesis written in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; and is accordingly more occupied with the thought than with the literary aspect of the work studied. But the industriously gathered material throws much light on the history of the French Renaissance and its development in the early seventeenth century. The social and artistic movement is shown up against the actual history of the period. Indeed we venture to think that the background of the study—the history of the d'Urfé family, its political activities, its cumulative refinement, its relationship with distinguished and highly-cultured personalities, its friendships, culminating in Honoré d'Urfé, who combined, so to say, all the qualities and experiences of his race, is a still more praiseworthy contribution to the knowledge of the general reader than the close analysis of his theories of beauty and of art. For instance, it is delightful to find such a person as St. Francis of Sales flitting across these pages, and to realise afresh how many-sided he was.

The main part of the thesis shows how men and women of culture in those times—for the *Astrée* was the most widely read novel of its day, and both formed, and was formed on, contemporary society—were interested in questions of beauty and of art that are always with us. "In the early seventeenth century . . .

theories of art were as yet hardly formulated," says the writer, on p. 115, a statement perhaps open to contradiction, but she adds, "We are surprised to find that so many points stressed by him are still mooted questions in the twentieth century." Though the actual specimens of literary art produced, and of other arts described and criticised, by Honoré d'Urfé, are of general Renaissance type, his theories, founded on enlightened and christianised common-sense, are akin to those of the *philosophia perennis* which reached its highest development in Scholasticism. We think the discussion in some places would have gained in clearness, if reference had been made to Jacques Maritain's excellent *Art et Scolastique*, which is absent from an abundant bibliography. M. R.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE SOURCES OF THE GENIE DU CHRISTIANISME. By Madeleine Dempsey, M.A., Ph.D. Paris: Champion. 1928.

THIS thesis, presented for the doctorate last year at the University of London, is an excellent piece of work, throwing much light on an interesting aspect of Chateaubriand. It is, moreover, as such works very often are not, extremely well written and readable. It shows how industriously Chateaubriand gathered material from English divines, poets, travellers, and historians; and how dexterously he wove it into the web of his magic prose. And the result, which might appear unexpected, is to give us not only an increased appreciation of his literary power, but even an increased understanding of and respect for his apologetic value,—which has often been belittled. It is clearly seen, for instance, in the use he makes of Gibbon. The thesis is published in the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée*. M. R.

HISTOIRE DE NOTRE-DAME DE LOURDES D'APRES LES DOCUMENTS ET LES TEMOINS. Par L. J. M. Cros, S.J. I.—Les Apparitions. II.—Les Luttes. III.—La Chapelle et Bernadette. Paris: Beauchesne. 1925-1927.

LES FAITS DE LOURDES: NOUVELLES SERIES DE GUERISONS (1923-1925). Par Dr. A. Marchand. Paris: Téqui. 1926. 12 fr.

GUERISONS DE LOURDES EN 1926. Par Dr. Auguste Vallet. Paris: Téqui. 1927. 5 fr.

LES HYPOTHESES SUR LOURDES. Par Joseph Serre. Avignon: Aubanel Fils Ainé. 1927.

FR. CROS died in 1913. For the greater part of a long life he gave himself up to the work of chronicling and defending the wonders of Lourdes. The three volumes which have at last appeared were written as early as 1879. For a time they were held back by personal reasons, then for an even longer time Fr. Cros let himself be absorbed in the task of refuting the errors of others, and refused to consider the publication of his own researches until he was satisfied that he had left no error uncontradicted. The years went by in this profitless task, and it is only now that we learn what a wealth of sound learning and critical examination was left thus lying in his drawer. This *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Lourdes* will become at once the standard work on its subject: not on the miracles, of course, for they—thank God—are not exhausted, but for the early and critical years, on which all else depends. Fr. Martindale has recently shown us what light can be thrown on the story of Bernadette by anyone who has the courage to set aside the conventional biographies and go to the original documents. Henceforward he will go to Fr. Cros' exhaustive summary.

The other three volumes on our list are of less permanent value. Two of them bring the record of miracles which have passed the necessary medical examinations up to date. They should be added to the earlier works of Dr. Marchand and Dr. de Grandmaison. The third is little more than a pamphlet, a popular statement of the case for miracles in general, and for the miracles of Lourdes in particular. It is useful also as a summary of the more commonly accepted

explanations which are given by those who are not convinced, and yet have taken the trouble to think at all on the subject. How many of us could give the right answer to even the most obvious of these sophistries? P. D.

ON STIMULUS IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE. By Sir Josiah Stamp. Cambridge University Press. 1927. 3s.

Sir Josiah Stamp is well qualified to write on stimulus, being himself one of the most stimulating thinkers of the day. In the Rede Lecture of 1927, now printed, he makes a valuable and original contribution to the study of the trade cycle. Using analogies drawn from physics and medicine, he shows that stimulants to economic action must be classified according to the final reactions which they produce. Thus, for example, rising prices caused by inflation probably lead to an ultimate fall greater than the initial rise. The practical conclusion is reached that all stimulants calculated to produce such reactions must be avoided. The lecture is full of thought, and is, as we already said, a valuable contribution to the study of industrial fluctuations. G. O'B.

THE WHITE HARVEST. A Symposium on Methods of Convert Making. Edited by Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph.D. New York and London: Longmans. 1927. 12/6.

In the introductory chapter the Editor of this book sets forth its purpose very clearly. It is to provide something in the nature of a specific technique for the winning of converts to the Catholic faith. In law, in medicine, in education, in the various physical sciences there has gradually been evolved a definite and practical technique which has taken the place of the old haphazard ways and purely theoretical training. But hitherto one field has remained untouched and unexplored: as yet there has been worked out no effective technique for the presentation of Catholic truth to the non-Catholic mind. With the result that, although some sixty millions of the population of the United States are without religious affiliations, and although a large proportion of these people would welcome the Faith if rightly presented to them, the annual number of converts made by the Catholic Church in that country amounts to less than 40,000.

This state of things Father O'Brien sets down partly to the absence of definite efforts in that direction, particularly on the part of the laity, partly to the lack of anything in the nature of method, of definite technique. This latter defect he seeks to remedy by his "symposium of methods of convert making."

He has gone about his task in a thorough and practical way. Instead of expounding theories as to how the work of conversion could or should be carried on, he has gone to those who are actually carrying it on with success and has asked them to tell us how they do it. The result is a very valuable and suggestive accumulation of the results of actual experience.

To give a few examples. Father Bertrand L. Conway, the Paulist, has personally instructed and received 6,000 converts in the course of the past twenty-eight years. He sets down here the conclusions of his missionary experience. Similarly the Rev. Hugh McMenamin, of Denver, describes the methods that have won more than a thousand converts in that city. Mr. David Goldstein, himself a convert, tells of his wonderful lay apostolate as a Catholic street preacher. Father Joseph Eckert, of the Society of the Divine Word, tells of his apostolate among the negroes of Chicago. The Rt. Rev. John F. Noll, now Bishop of Fort Wayne, deals with what can be done towards removing the countless misunderstandings that hinder non-Catholics from seriously considering the claims of the Church. His own little periodical, *The Sunday Visitor*, has accomplished a great work in this respect. And, besides those referred to, we have here chapters contributed by Fathers Martin J. Scott, S.J.; E. C. Dowd, Edward L. Mannix, John Duffy, and Henry E. O'Keeffe, C.S.P.

It is pleasant to note the evidence afforded by this book of the leading part which men of Irish birth or descent are taking in every forward movement in the Church of the United States. S. J. B.

LITERARY ART AND MODERN EDUCATION. By Francis P. Donnelly, S.J. New York: Kenedy. 1927. Pp. xxiv., 328. 1 dollar 75 cents.

THIS engaging and even familiar volume gives us some thirty-six collected papers on a great variety of topics, averaging about eight pages each. They are not the quiet reflective papers of the literary recluse. They are rather the adventures of a veteran practitioner in the gentle polemics of literary journalism, the journalism that Matthew Arnold, much to his cultured surprise, found in evidence at New York in his later days. Father Donnelly has always his pen neatly pointed. It is when he has a definite objective that he best displays his own gifts of candid humour and cheery (if at times caustic) criticism.

These qualities make the writer most effective when availing of an occasion offered him. Here, we find, Father Donnelly keeps his educational jubilee by a *Festschrift* on "trade schools, electivism, mental tests, vocationalism, liberal education, art teaching, science teaching, literature in education." But there is much more. The author wages some thirty battles, besides casual combats on the way from one tournament to the next. One enjoys these various plays, even as the old hurler does, standing on the ditch; or, better still, leaning against a stout tree. But if the reader will, there are plenty of points on which he can himself get active. Is not science an essential part of a liberal education? Was it not against the absurdly exaggerated faculty-psychology of the Lowland Scots of Glasgow, from Reid to McCosh, imported into those United States, that the paladins of Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, went out to tilt? What is the aim of literary studies, what was it, what will it be? Enough to indicate areas on which an appreciative and grateful reviewer would not be loth to line up. But the engaging style, the breezy by-play, the familiar, kindly tone of these neat papers rather bids one to salute, congratulate, ask for more. **T. C.**

THE STORY OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS. Compiled by the Rev. C. V. Donovan. Being the Official Record published by the Committee in Charge of the Congress. Chicago: Joseph H. Meier (64 W. Randolph Str.). 1927. $4.75.

THIS great quarto volume of 530 pages contains two elements—the story of the things done, the record of the things spoken, at Chicago in June, 1926. Having said that, one has little more to say. The narrative is told in an ample and detailed way, and it is illustrated by a very large number of photographs. When these latter are printed on art-paper insets they are excellent, when inserted in the text they are by no means so good, indeed they are poor enough. As regards the record of things spoken, "All papers, addresses, and sermons read or delivered by Cardinals at all general sessions of the Congress are given in full, and where necessary translation is added. Those delivered at the same gathering by bishops or laymen in English are also included, with those delivered at the sessions of the English-speaking section. Such sermons and addresses as were read or delivered in a foreign tongue at sessions of other sectional groups are not included," it having been understood that each such group would publish its proceedings in a separate volume, as several of them have in fact done.

Because of the two-fold nature of its contents this fine volume has a two-fold value—viz., as the record of the greatest public manifestation and pageant of Catholicism in the history of the Church, and as a treasury of Eucharistic doctrine and devotion. **S. J. B.**

LE PENITENT BRETON PIERRE DE KERIOLET. Par Hippolyte Le Gouvello. (5me. et 6me. Editions). Paris: Tequi. 1927. 10 fr.

IT is more than fifty years now since Count Hippolyte Le Gouvello brought as an *ex voto* to the new shrine of Sainte Anne d'Auray (then recently completed) the first edition of his *Life* of his famous kinsman, Pierre Le Gouvello de Keriolet, whose statue by Falguière had just taken its place by the side of that of Yves Nicolazic on the façade of the splendid basilica—in commemoration of

the part shared by Keriolet with the *Voyant* himself in the restoration in Brittany of the ancient cult of Saint Anne. Since 1910 there have been no less than four new editions of the work, so that, in France at least, the figure of the famous Breton penitent has long passed from the shadowy twilight of legend to daylight of properly " documented " history.

Not that the " history " is less amazing than the " legend "; or that it seems easier for the people of to-day to find their bearings along the highways of seventeenth century France—where saints and sinners jostle each other on such strange errands—than through the wonder-haunted forests of Breton legend where " Keriolet Diable " rode his enchanted black charger, or " Keriolet Saint " returned on bleeding feet from his long pilgrimages.

After a wild and dissipated youth—some of whose *équipées* recall those of the " Three Musketeers," his contemporaries—Pierre Le Gouvello (Peadar Gabha—patronymics as well as place names in Breton have kept very " clean " their family resemblance with their Irish cousins) was converted by the Devils of Loudun, whom (with half France) he had gone to see publicly exorcised from Jeanne des Anges and her unhappy Sisters. From that moment he gave himself over to a life of the most heroic penance, the most exalted charity, the most constant prayer. His fine castle of Kerlois, near Auray, he converted into a hospice for the poor and homeless, a hospital for the sick—and, having been ordained priest in 1637, he devoted to these all the time he was not engaged in pilgrimage.

Some of our Irish exiles then in Brittany—Bishop Kirwan, of Killala, or Archdeacon John Lynch, for instance—must have known him very well. For the particular friends of Kirwan specially mentioned by Lynch were Keriolet's intimates also: St. Vincent de Paul, the Baron de Renty, Father Bernard, the " poor priest," and his successor, Father Le Gauffre, Bernier de Louvigny, &c. Moreover we learn from Lynch of a pilgrimage made by Bishop Kirwan to Sainte Anne d' Auray at a time when Keriolet was constantly there, and of his sojourn amid the Carthusians of that place where Keriolet had once entered as a novice. Strange that neither the biographer of Kirwan, nor the Carmelite Father of Auray, who was the first biographer of Keriolet, should have traced any *rapprochement* between their respective heroes. HELENA CONCANNON.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TERTULLIAN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOGMA. By the Rev. James Morgan, M.A., B.D. London: Kegan Paul. 1928. 7/6 net.

A LOT of painstaking labour has gone to the making of this book. The author has read his Tertullian and a great deal of what moderns have written about him. But it is not an easy book to read. One would need to have the text of Tertullian constantly at one's elbow; there is a good deal of repetition, and the author's statements are sometimes, to say the least of it, confusing (witness the treatment of the term *praescriptio* on pages 27-29). I was somewhat disconcerted (and perhaps prejudiced) from the very beginning by an introduction containing various disjointed remarks which might as well have been made anywhere else as in an introduction. In fine, it is not easy to resist the conclusion that we have here an accumulation of notes taken during a considerable period of study, and that the notes were not sufficiently digested before being hurried into print.

The Catholic will read this book with circumspection. It is quite true that the doctrines of the Church were formulated more clearly as time went on, but that is not to say that the body of dogmatic truth which we hold to-day is the result of a more or less fortuitous evolution, as the author, consciously or unconsciously, seems to imply. Once in a way a gleam of amusement will lighten the reader's labour, as, for instance, when he reads the statement about Penance on p. 65: " The absolution of the priest converts even mortal sins into venial sins, which require to be expiated, not in hell, but in purgatory, unless they are cancelled in the way prescribed by the priest." This is indeed a new light on the history of Penance! T. A. J.

Books received :—

AMAN, E. ... ... L'Eglise des premières Siècles. (Bloud et Gay, 10 fr.).
ARENDZEN, J. P. ... Men and Manners in the Days of Christ. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
BARAGNON, JEAN ... Le Crucifix. Retraite sacerdotale. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.).
BONSIRVEN, JOSEPH Sur les Ruines du Temple. (Grasset, 15 fr.).
CHAPMAN, JOHN ... Studies on the Early Papacy. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
COZENS, M. L. .. A Handbook of Heresies. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
DE LACY-BILLINGARI The Roll of the House of Lacy. (Baltimore, pp. 417).
DEMPSEY, MADELEINE A Contribution to the Study of the Sources of the "Génie du Christianisme." (Champion).
DENZIGER-BANNWART Enchiridion Symbolorum. Editio decima sexta quam paravit J. B. Umberg, S.J. (Herder, 7/6).
DIDON, PERE ... Life of Jesus Christ. Sixth ed. in one volume. (Kegan Paul, 10/6).
DONNELLY, D. ... A Prisoner in Japan. Carolo Spinola, S.J. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
DORSCH, AEMIL ... Institutiones Theologiae fundamentalis. Vol. II. De Ecclesia. Editio altera retractata et aucta. (Innsbruck : Rauch).
GHEON, HENRI ... Le Saint Curé d'Ars. (Flammarion, 12 fr.).
GOUGAUD, LOUIS ... Ermites et Reclus. Etudes sur d'anciennes formes de vie religieuse. (Abbé de Ligugé, 12 fr.).
GRANDMAISON, L. DE Jésus-Christ. Sa Personne, son Message, ses Preuves. Deux tomes. (Beauchesne, 100 fr.).
Le Dogme chrétien. Sa Nature, ses Formules, son Développement. (Beauchesne, 15 fr.).
GRAVES, ALFRED P. The Celtic Song Book. Representative Folk Songs of the six Celtic Nations. (Benn, 10/6).
HOUCK, FREDERICK ... Godward, or the Rugged Path of Joys and Sorrows. (Herder, 7/-).
HOYLAND, JOHN ... The Great Forerunner. Studies in the Interrelation of Platonism and Christianity. (Constable, 5/-).
KENNETH, R. H. ... Old Testament Essays. (Cambridge University Press, 12/6).
LATTEY, C. ... Readings in First Corinthians. Church Beginnings in Greece. (Herder, 6/-).
LE GOFFIC, CHARLES La Tour d'Auvergne. (Flammarion, 12 fr.).
LENFANT, L. A. ... Une Méditation pour chaque jour. (Téqui, 1 fr.).
LONGFORD, CHRISTINE Vespasian and some of his Contemporaries. (Hodges, Figgis, 5/-).
MCCORMICK, JOHN F. Scholastic Metaphysics. Part I. Being, its Divisions and Causes. (Loyola University Press, $2).
MCDONNELL, PATRICK The Church and Economics. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
MELINE, PIERRE ... Morale familiale. (Bloud & Gay, 10 fr.).
MORRIS, MARGARET ... The Notation of Movement. Psyche Miniatures. (Kegan Paul, 2/6).
NIVARD, MARCELLUS Ethica. (Beauchesne, 50 fr.).
NOLAN, PATRICK ... A Monetary History of Ireland. Part II.—Anglo-Norman Invasion to Elizabeth. (King, 5/-).
PREVITE-ORTON, C. W. The "Defensor Pacis" of Marsilius of Padua. (Cambridge Univ. Press, 35/-).
REUTER, FLORIZEL ... Psychical Experiences of a Musician. (Simpkin Marshall, 7/6).
RICHAUD, ABBE ... Veillées et Prières. (Téqui, 5 fr.).
ROLAND-GOSSELIN, B. La Doctrine politique de S. Thomas d'Aquin. (Rivière, 8 fr.). Aristote. (Flammarion, 12 fr.).
SMITHSON, A. M. P. ... These Things. The Romance of a Danger. (Talbot Press, 3/6).
TALBOT, FRANCIS X. The American Book of Verse. (America Press).
TENNANT, F. R. ... Philosophical Theology. The Soul and its Faculties. (Cambridge Univ. Press., 21/-).
THURSTON, HERBERT The Eucharistic Fast. Some Comments on a recent Publication of Rev. Percy Dearmer. (Longmans, 1/-).
TURCAN, ABBE ... Le Directeur des Catéchismes de Première Communion et de Persévérance. 3 vols. (Téqui, 30 fr.).
VENESS, MOLLY ... Towards Freedom. (Sands, 7/6).
WARDEN, R. J. ... An Outline of Comparative Psychology. (Kegan Paul, 2/6).
WATSON, JOHN ... The Battle of Behaviorism. (Kegan Paul, 2/6).
[VARIOUS WRITERS] Contributi del Laboratorio di Psicologia e Biologia. Serie Terza. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L. 40).

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1927-28

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace, or to the Medical School, Cecilia Street. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace and in the Medical School, Cecilia Street, are open daily.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1825.

Subscribed Capital, 100,000 Shares of £20 each, £2,000,000.

Paid up Capital..... £500,000. | Reserve Fund..... £640,000.

DIRECTORS:

MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, ESQ., Chairman.

THOMAS LEVINS MOORE, ESQ.
SENATOR PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY.
CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN, ESQ.
WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN, ESQ.
CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR, ESQ.
ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager.

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 30th day of July, 1928.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1928, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£52,676	14 5
To which has to be added:—		
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	30,652	2 4
	£83,328	16 9
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000	0 0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—		
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	31,250	0 0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	7,500	0 0
To next Account	34,578	16 9
	£83,328	16 9

The Reserve Fund now stands at £640,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS

General Manager.

DUBLIN, 11th July, 1928.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1928. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000: amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	398,803	0	3
,, Reserve Fund	640,000	0	0	,, Investments, viz.:—			
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,619,916	7	2	War Loan and other Government Stocks	5,059,143	6	1
,, Sundry Agents	134,182	5	3	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	185,560	1	3
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	10,026	16	5		5,643,506	7	7
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £83,328 16 9				,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	7,103,016	8	11
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0				,, Sundry Agents	31,637	3	11
	73,328	16	9	,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	199,294	5	2
	£12,977,454	5	7		£12,977,454	5	7

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1928.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	102,971	19	3	By Balance from last Account ...	30,652	2	4
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	155,648	13	8
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1928, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 31,250 0 0							
,, Bank Premises Acct. 7,500 0 0							
,, Balance to next Acct. 34,578 16 9							
	73,328	16	9				
	£186,300	16	0		£186,300	16	0

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have quired in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing rofit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on th June, 1928, is in excess of the amount at which they and in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's fairs according to the best of my information and the explana- ons given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company d the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
UBLIN, 11th July, 1928. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

MARTIN F. MAHONY
CHARLES E. LAMBKIN,
WILLIAM R. NOLAN, } *Directors.*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager.*

A Copy of this Prospectus has been filed with the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies

THE LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS WILL BE CLOSED ON OR BEFORE 13th OCTOBER, 19

IRISH PRESS LIMITED

(Incorporated under the Companies Acts, 1908 to 1917).

SHARE CAPITAL - £200,000

DIVIDED INTO

200,000 Shares of £1 each

ISSUE AT PAR OF

200,000 Ordinary Shares of £1 each

Directors :

EAMON DE VALERA, *Controlling Director*, 84 Serpentine Avenue, Sandymount, Co. Du
Teacher, Chancellor, National University of Ireland.
JAMES CHARLES DOWDALL, Villa Nova, College Road, Cork; *Merchant*, Senator, Dir
Dowdall, O'Mahony & Co., Limited.
HENRY THOMAS GALLAGHER, Tallaght, Co. Dublin; *Merchant*, Chairman and Mana
Director, Urney Chocolates, Limited.
JOHN HUGHES, Laragh, Killiney, Co. Dublin; *Merchant*, of John Hughes & Co., Dublin.
STEPHEN O'MARA, Strand House, Limerick; *Merchant*, Chairman and Managing Director, O'
& Co., Limited.
PHILIP BUSTEED PIERCE, Park House, Wexford; *Merchant*, Managing Director, Philip P
& Co., Limited, Mill Road Iron Works.
JAMES LYLE STIRLING, Granite Lodge, Dun Laoghaire; *Merchant*, Chairman and Mana
Director, Stirling, Cockle & Ashley, Limited.
EDMUND WILLIAMS, Correen, Ailesbury Road, Co. Dublin; *Maltster*, of D. E. Williams, Lim
Tullamore.

Bankers :
The Munster and Leinster Bank, Limited, and Branches.

Solicitors :
Little, Ó hUadhaigh & Proud, 12 Dawson Street, Dublin.

Auditors :
Kean & Co., Chartered Accountants, 46 and 47 Dame Street, Dublin.

Secretary and Registered Office pro tem. :
Robert Brennan, 46 and 47 Dame Street, Dublin.

The Munster and Leinster Bank, Limited, and Branches, have been authorised by the Compan
receive applications for the above 200,000 Ordinary Shares.

Payable as follows—2/- per share on Application.
5/- ,, ,, on Allotment.
5/- ,, ,, two months after Allotment.
4/- ,, ,, six months ,, ,,
4/- ,, ,, nine months ,, ,,

but the full price is payable on application for shares by persons residing outside Ireland.

The Company has been formed for the purposes specified in the Memorandum of the Associa
and in particular with the object of providing what is generally admitted to be a national neces
an up-to-date morning, evening, and weekly Press, which will be characteristic of the Nation, thorou
Irish in every respect, and, unlike the present Press, strictly fair to all Parties. There is an insis
popular demand for a healthy, independent, native Irish Press, which will put Ireland's interests

The control and management will be of the best, and there is every reason to hope that w
twelve months of the first issue the papers will lead all others in Ireland in circulation.

The machinery and equipment will, it is estimated, cost ...	£80,000
The necessary premises will cost about	£20,000
The Preliminary expenses, including stamp duties and the expenses of promotion, will be about	£9,000
Making a total of ...	£109,000

leaving available approximately a working cash capital of over £90,000, which should be more ample to meet all requirements and ensure the continuance of a Press which has every prospect eing commercially successful and a national asset.

The minimum subscription on which the Directors may proceed to allotment is fixed by the Articles ssociation at eight shares.

The preliminary expenses, including registration fees and stamp duties, are estimated at the sum ,000.

The business of the Company will be managed by a Controlling Director and the Directors. The rs of the Controlling Director are set out in Articles 76 to 78, inclusive, of the Articles of Association.

The Articles of Association of the Company contain (*inter alia*) the following provisions :—

Subject to any special terms as to voting, upon which any shares may be issued or may for the time being be held, every member shall upon a show of hands have one vote, and upon a poll one vote in respect of each share held by him.

The remuneration of the Directors shall be as voted at each Annual General Meeting of the Company.

The Directors may award special remuneration out of the funds of the Company to any Director going or residing abroad in the interests of the Company, or undertaking any work additional to that usually required of Directors of a company similar to this. The qualification of a Director shall be the holding of 500 shares in the capital of the Company.

The salary or remuneration of the Controlling Director of the Company shall be such as the shareholders in General Meeting may from time to time determine.

A Director may hold any other office or place of profit under the Company except that of Auditor in conjunction with the office of Director, and on such terms as to remuneration and otherwise as the Directors may arrange.

If no allotment is made, the application money will be refunded in full, and if the number of shares allotted be less than that applied for, the balance will be credited towards the amount payable on allotment, and any excess will be returned to the applicant.

Interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum will be charged on instalments in arrear.

Failure to pay any instalment will render the previous payments and the shares liable to forfeiture.

The Share Certificates will be ready for delivery on payment of the last instalment on the Shares.

Copies of the Memorandum and Articles of Association can be inspected at the temporary Offices e Company, 46 and 47 Dame Street, Dublin, between the hours of 11 a.m. and 4 p.m., on any day vhich the subscription list is open.

Applications for shares should be made on the accompanying form, and lodged with the Company's kers, the Munster and Leinster Bank, Limited, at their Head Office or Branches, with a remittance the amount payable on application.

Prospectuses and Application Forms can be obtained at the Office of the Company, and from the kers, Solicitors, or Auditors of the Company.

DUBLIN, *5th September*, 1928.

Form of Application may be used.

IRISH PRESS LIMITED

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR SHARES.

(TO BE RETAINED BY THE BANKERS). No.....

To the Directors of IRISH PRESS, LIMITED.

TLEMEN,

Having paid to your Bankers the sum of £.....being a deposit of 2s. per share .....Shares of £1 each in the above Company, I request that you will allot to me number of Shares, and I hereby agree to accept the same or any less number that you may allot e upon the terms of the Prospectus and the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Company I authorise you to place my name on the Register of Members in respect of the Shares allotted ie.

Name (in full).....

Address (in full).....

.....

Profession or Business.....

Date.....1928.

Signature.....

This Form must be filled up and sent to the Munster and Leinster Bank, Ltd., at their Head Office, ıy of the Branches with remittance for the amount payable on application.

Phone 646.

THE
DISC LINEN CO.,
20 Temple Bar, DUBLIN, C.4.

PLAIN ALBS, Fine Strong Linen, **35/-** and **42/-** each.

PLAIN SURPLICES, 18/6 and **25/-** each.

PLAIN ALTAR-CLOTHS, linen, 36 ins. wide, **4/3** per yard.

DAMASK ALTAR-CLOTH, 27 ins. wide, **5/6** per yard.

EMBROIDERED AMICES, 7/6. PLAIN AMICES, 5/- each.

Ditto Hemstitched, **10/6.** **Ditto** Hemstitched, **8/-.**

PURE LINEN CORPORALS, 20/- doz.

PURIFIERS, 16/- doz., **DAMASK, 18/-.**

PURE LINEN DIAPER FINGER TOWELS, 18/- doz.

HAND-MADE LINEN CINCTURES, 10/6 each.

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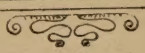

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